

NAVIGATION
AND
Commerce,
THEIR
ORIGINAL
AND
PROGRESS.

Containing

*A succinct Account of Traffick in General;
its Benefits and Improvements: Of Discoveries,
Wars and Conflicts at Sea, from the Original of
Navigation to this Day; with special Regard to
the ENGLISH Nation; Their several Voy-
ages and Expeditions, to the Beginning of our
late Differences with HOLLAND; In which
His Majesties Title to the DOMINION of
the SEA is Asserted, against the Novel, and
later Pretenders.*

By *J. EVELYN* Esq; S.R.S.

Cicero ad Attic. L. 10. Ep. 7.

Qui MARE tenet, cum necesse est RERUM Potiri

L O N D O N,

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in St. Pauls Churchyard, 1674.

TO
The King.

SIR,

THAT I take the
Boldness to In-
scribe Your Ma-
jesties Name on the Front
of this little History,
is to pay a Tribute, the
most due, and the most be-
coming my Relation to
your Majesties Service of
any that I could devise;
since Your Majesty has
been pleas'd among so
many

*many Noble and Illustrious
Persons, to name me of the
Councel of Your Com-
merce, and Plantations :
And if it may afford Your
Majesty some diversion, to
behold, as in a Table, the
Course, and Importance of
what Your Majesty is the
most Absolute Arbiter of a-
ny Potentate on Earth, and
Excite in Your Loyal Sub-
jects a Courage, and an In-
dustry becoming the Advan-
tages which God and Na-
ture have put into their
Hands, I shall have reach'd
my humble Ambition, and
Your Majesty will not Re-
prove*

*prove these Expressions of
it in*

SIR,

Your *Majestie's* Most

Dutiful, Most Obedient,

and ever Loyal

Subject and Servant,

J. EVELYN.

From the collection of

1850



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1850



NAVIGATION
AND
COMMERCE
THEIR
Original and Progress.

I.



Whoever shall with serious Attention Contemplate the divine Fabrick of this Inferiour Orb, the various, and admirable Furniture which fills, and Adorns it; the Constitution of the Elements about it, and, above all, the Nature of Man (for whom they were Created) he must needs acknowledge,

B

that

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that there is nothing more agreeable to Reason, than that they were All of them Ordain'd for mutual Use and Communication.

2. The Earth, and every Prospect of her Superficies, presents us with a thousand Objects of Utility and Delight, in which consists the Perfection of all Sublunary things : And, though, through her rugged and dissever'd Parts, Rocks, Seas and remoter Islands, she seem at first, to check our Addresses ; Yet, when we ag'en behold in what ample Baies, Creeks, trending-Shores, inviting Harbours and Stations, she appears spreading her Arms upon the Bordures of the Ocean ; whiles the Rivers, who re-pay their Tributes to it, glide not in direct, and præcipitate Courses from their Conceil'd, and distant Heads, but in various flexures and Meanders (as well to temper the rapidity of their Streams, as to Water and refresh the fruitful Plains) methinks she seems, from the very Beginning, to have been dispos'd for Traffick and Commerce, and even Courts us to visit her most solitary Recesses.

3. This Meditation sometimes affecting my Thoughts, did exceedingly confirm,

confirm, and not a little surprize me ; when reflecting on the Situation of the *Mediterranean Sea* (so aptly contriv'd for Inter-course to so vast a part of the World) I concluded ; That if the *Hollanders* themselves (who of all the Inhabitants in it , are the best skill'd in making Canales and Trenches , and to derive Waters) had joyn'd in Consultation, how the scatter'd parts of the Earth might be rendred most Accessible , and easie for Commerce ; They could not have contriv'd, where to have made the In-let with so much advantage , as GOD and Nature have done it for Us ; Since by means of this Sea, we have admission to no less than Three Parts of the habitable World, and there seems nothing left (in this regard) to humane Industry, which could render it more consummate ; So Impious was the saying of *Alphonfus* (not worthy the name of Prince) That had he been of Counsel with the Creator when he made the Universe, he could have fram'd it better.

Roderico de Toledo, lib. 1. c. 6.

4. If we cast our Eyes on the Plains and the Mountains ; behold them naturally furnish'd with goodly Trees ; of which some there are, which grow

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as it were, spontaneously into Vessels and *Canoes*, wanting nothing but the Launching, to render them useful: But, when the Art of Man, or of God rather (for it was he, who first instructed him to Build) conspires, and that he but sets his divine Genius on work, the same Earth furnishes Materials, to equip, and perfect the most Beautiful, Useful, and stupendious Creature (so let us be permitted to call her) the whole World has to shew: And if the Winds, and Elements prove Auspicious (which was the Third Instance of our Contemplation) this enormous Machine (as if inspir'd with Life too) is ready for every Motion, and to brave all encounters and adventures, undertakes to fathom the World it self; to visit strange, and distant Lands; to People, Cultivate, and Civilize un-inhabited, and Barbarous Regions, and to proclaim to the Universe, the Wonders of the Architect, the Skill of the Pilot, and, above all, the Benefits of Commerce.

5. So great, and unspeakable were the Blessings which Man-kind received by his yet infant Adventures; that it is no wonder, to see how every Nation contended,

contended, who should surpass each other in the Art of Navigation, and apply the means of Commerce to promote and derive it to themselves; God-Almighty (as we have shew'd) in the Constitution of the World, prompting us to awaken our Industry for the supply of our Necessities: For Man on y being oblig'd to live Politickly, and in Society, for mutual assistance, found it would not be accomplish'd without Labour and Industry; Nature, which ordains all things necessary for other Creatures, in the place where she produces them, did not so for Man; but ennobling him with a superiour Faculty, supply'd him with all things his needs could require. Wheresoever therefore Men are born (unless wanting to themselves) they have it in their power, to exalt themselves, even in these regards, above the other Creature; and the Lillies which spin not, and are yet so splendidly clad, are not in this respect, so happy as an Industrious and prudent Man; because they have neither knowledge, or sense of their Being and Perfections: And, though few things indeed are necessary for the Animal life; yet, has it no prerogative by that alone, above

the more Rational, which Man onely enjoys, and for whom the World was made; seeing the variety of Blessings that were ordained to serve him, proclaims his Dominion, and the vastness of his Nature; Nor, had the great Creator himself been so Glorified, without an Intellectual Being, that could Contemplate, and make use of them. We are therefore rather to admire that stupendous mixture of Plenty and Want, which we find disseminated throughout the Creation; What *St. Paul* affirms of the Members of the Little World, being so applicable to those of the Greater, and no one Place, or Country able to say, I have no need of another, Considered not onely as to consummate Perfections, but even divers things, if not absolutely necessary, at least, Convenient.

6. To Demonstrate this in a most conspicuous Instance, we need look no farther than *HOLLAND*, of which fertile (shall we say) or Enchanted Spot, 'tis hard to decide, whether its Wants, or Abundance are really greater, than any other Countries under Heaven; Since, by the Quality, and other Circumstances of Situation (though otherwise

otherwise productive enough) it affords neither *Grain, Wine, Oyle, Timber, Metall, Stone, Wool, Hemp, Pitch*, nor, almost, any other Commodity of Use; and yet we find, there is hardly a *Nation* in the World, which enjoys all these things in greater affluence: and all this, from Commerce alone, and the effects of Industry, to which not onely the Neighbouring parts of *Europe* contribute, but the *Indies*, and *Antipodes*: So as the whole World (as vast as it appears to others) seems but a *Farm*, scarce another *Province* to them; and indeed it is That alone, which has Built, and Peopl'd goodly Cities, where nothing but *Rushes* grew; Cultivated an heavy *Genius* with all the politer Arts; Enlarg'd, and secur'd their Boundaries, and made them a Name in the World, who, within less than an Age, were hardly consider'd in it.

7. What Fame and Riches the *Venetians* acquir'd, whilst they were true to their *Sponse*, the *SEA* (and in acknowledgment whereof, they still repeat and celebrate the Nuptials) Histories are loud of: But, This, no longer continu'd than whilst they had regard to their *Fleets*, and their *Trafick*, the

proper business, and the most genuine to their Situation. From hence, they Founded a glorious City, fixt upon a few muddy, and scatter'd Islands; and Thence, distributed over *Europe*, the product of the Eastern World, 'till changing this Industry into Ambition, and applying it to the Inlarging of their Territories in *Italy*, they lost their Interests, and Acquisits in the *Mediterranean*, which were infinitely more considerable. Nor in this Recension of the advantages of Commerce, is her Neighbour *Genoa* to be forgotten; whose narrow Dominions (not exceeding some private Lordships in *England*) have grown to a considerable state; and from a barren Rock, to a proud City, emulous for Wealth and Magnificence, with the stateliest *Emporiums* of the World.

8. The Easterlings, and *Anseatick Towns* (famous for early Traffick) had perhaps never been heard of, but for Courting this Mistress; no more than those vaster Tracts of *Sweden*, *Norway*, *Muscovy*, &c. which the late Industry of our own People, has rendred considerable. The *Danes*, 'tis confess'd, had long signaliz'd themselves by their importunate

portunate Descents on this Island, and universal Piracies; whilst negligent of our Advantages at Sea, we often became Obnoxious to them; But, when once we set-up our moving Fortresses, and grew numerous in Shipping, we liv'd in profound Tranquillity, grew opulent, and formidable to our Enemies.

9. It was Commerce, and Navigation (the Daughter of Peace, and good Intelligence) that gave Reputation to the most noble of our Native-staples, WOOL, exceedingly Improv'd by Forreigners; especially, since the Reigns of *Edward the Second*, and *Third*; and has been the principal occasion, of Instituting, and Establishing our *Merchant-Adventurers*, and other worthy Fraternities; to mention onely the esteem of our *Horses*, *Corn*, *Tin*, *Lead*, *Iron*, *Saffron*, *Fullers-Earth*, *Hides*, *Wax*, *Fish*, and other Natural, and Artificial Commodities, most of which are *Indigene*, and Domestick, others Imported, and brought from forraign Countries. Thus, *Asia* Refreshes us with Spices, Recreates us with Perfumes, Cures us with Drougs, and adorns us with Jewels: *Africa* sends

sends us Ivory and Gold; *America*, Silver, Sugar and Cotton: *France*, *Spain* and *Italy*, give us Wine, Oyl and Silk: *Russia*, Warms us in Furs; *Sweden*, supplies us with Copper; *Denmark*, and the Northern Tracts, with Masts, and Materials for Shipping, without which, all this were nothing. It is Commerce, and Navigation that Breeds, and Accomplishes that most honourable and useful Race of Men (the Pillars of all Magnificence) to skill in the Exportation of Superfluities, Importation of Necessaries; to settle Staples, with regard to the Publick Stock: What 'tis fit to keep at Home, and what to send Abroad: To be Vigilant over the Course of Exchange; to employ Hands for Regulated Salaries; and, by their dexterity, to moderate all this, by a true, and solid Interest of State, which, without this Mystery, cannot long subsist, as not alwaies admitting permanent, and immutable Rules: In a word, the SEA (which covers half the Patrimony of Man, renders the whole VVorld a stranger to it self, and the Inhabitants, for whom 'twas made, as rude as *Canibals*) becomes but one Family, by the Miracles

See Mr. Cocke

Miracles of Commerce, and yet we have said nothing of the most Illustrious product of it; That it has taught us Religion, Instructed us in Polity, Cultivated our Manners, and Furnish'd us with all the delicacies of Virtuous and happy Living.

16. VWhether the First Author of Traffick were the *Tyrians*, *Trojans*, *Lydians*; those of *Carthage*; or (as *Josephus* will) the Mercurial Spirits *Antiq. L. 1.* soon after the Flood, to repair, and supply the Ruines of that universal Overthrow, we are not solicitous: That it entered with the Earliest, and best daies of the restored-VWorld, we shall prove hereafter, by the timely applications of Industrious Men, to enlarge, and improve their Condition. The *Romans* indeed, were not of a good while, favourable to Merchandizing; For, the *Patricians*, *Senators* and Great-Men might not be Owners in particular, of any considerable Vessel, besides small Barks, and Pleasure-Boats, and the most illustrious Nations have esteem'd the gain by Traffick and Commerce incompatible with *Nobles*: Not, for being Enemies to Trade; but, because they esteem'd it an Ignoble way of Gain,

Gain, *Quæstus Omnis indecorus Patri-*
bus, saies *Livy*, and were all for Con-
 quest and the Sword; for, otherwise,
 they so encourag'd this Industry, that
 the *Latins* (whom for a long time, they
 held under such servitude, that they
 might not devise their Estates when
 they dyed) if any one of them came to
 be able to build an handsome Ship, fit
 for Burthen and Traffick, he was *Li-*
bertate donatus, and obtained his Free-
 dom, with power to make his Testa-
 ment, and capable of bearing Office:
 And one would wonder that Traffick
 being so profitable, *Lycurgus* (that
 great Law-giver amongst the *Lacede-*
monians) should prohibit it; some be-
 lieve it was for its being so obnoxious
 to Corruption, and the Luxury intro-
 duc'd amongst the People by Com-
 merce with Strangers; the Lying and
 Deceit, Perjury and Theft, in buying,
 selling, and making bargains; for which
 reason *Plato* design'd the Towns of his
 Common-wealth to be built far distant
 from the Sea; and our *Saviour* scourg'd
 the Mony-Changers out of the Temple;
 so difficult a thing it is for those who
 Deal much, to preserve their hands
 clean: But, 'tis said, *Plato* changed his
 mind;

*Latini multū
 modū conse-
 quuntur Civi-
 tatem Roma-
 nam; Ut, si
 Navem ædifi-
 caverint duo-
 rum Milium
 Modiorum ca-
 pacem, &c.
 Ulpian. Instit.
 Tit. Latinū,
 N.6.*

mind; and we all know, that as the *Romans* themselves grew Wiser, so they dignified it, and took-off that ill-understood Reproach, as the *Orator* has himself told us, when (condemning the Pedlary, and sordid * Vices of Retailers) he acknowledges, That where Staple, and Useful Commodities can be brought in to supply the Needs of whole Countries, 'tis a commendable Service, *Videturque jure optimo, posse laudari*; nay, shew'd by their own Example, that for the Greatest Men to turn Merchants, did less taint their Blood, than their Sloth and Effeminacy; and upon this account, the Wisest of the Heathens (for such were *Thales, Solon, Hippocrates*, and even *Plato* himself) have honour'd Merchandize; and, of later times, many Kings and Princes; and then indeed, does Traffick rise to its Ascendent, when 'tis dignified by their Example, and defended by their Power: This, the Dukes of *Florence*, and other Potentates have long since understood; and, now at last, the *French* King: witness the Repair of his Ports, Building of Ships, Cutting new Channels, Instituting Companies, Planting of Colonies, and Universal encourage-

ment

* *Offic. l. i.*

Mercatura, si tenuis est, sordida putanda est. —

Nihil enim proficiunt, nisi admodum mentiantur.

ment of Manufactures by cherishing, and ennobling of Sedulous and Industrious persons : But, more yet than all this, or rather all this in more Perfection; His *Majesty* (our glorious Monarch) by whose Influences alone (after all the Combinations of his late powerful Enemies) such a Trade has been Reviv'd, and Carried on, and such a Fleet, and Strength at Sea to protect it, as never this Nation had a greater, nor any other of the past Ages has approach'd; Witness, You Three mighty Neighbours, at Once, taught to submit to him! For the Blessings of Navigation, and visiting distant Climes, does not stop at Traffick only; but (since 'tis no less perfection to keep, than obtain a Good) it enables us likewise with means to defend, what our honest Industry has gotten; and, if necessity, and Justice require; with Inlarging our Dominions too: Vindicating our Rights, Repelling Injuries, Protecting the Oppress'd, and with all the Offices of Humanity, and good Nature; In a word, Justice, and the Right of Nations, are the Objects of Commerce: It maintains Society, disposes to Action, and Communicates the Graces, and Riches which

which God has Variously imparted: From all which Considerations, 'tis evident; That a Spirit of Commerce, and strength at Sea to protect it, are the most certain marks of the Greatness of Empire, deduced from an undeniable *Sorites*; That whoever Commands the Ocean, Commands the Trade of the World, and whoever Commands the Trade of the VWorld, Commands the Riches of the VWorld, and whoever is Master of That, Commands the World it self; so as had the *Spaniard* treble his VVealth, he could neither be Rich, nor Safe with his prodigious Sloth; since, whilst he has been sitting-still; VVe, and other Nations have driven the Trade of the *East-Indies*, with his Treasure of the *West*, and, uniting, as it were, Extreame, made the *Poles* to kiss: They are not therefore small Matters, you see, which Men so much contend about, when they strive to Improve Commerce, and, by degrees, promote the Art of Navigation, and set their Empire in the Deep, from whence they have found to flow such notable Advantages. *Instances* of this we might add in abundance; and that it is not the *vastness* of Territory, but the
the

the Convenience of *Situation*; nor the *Multitude* of men, but their *Adresse* and *Industry* which improve a Nation. *Cosmo di Medices* would often say; That the *Prince* who had not the *Sea* to friend, was but half a *Prince*: And, this, *Charles the Fifth* had well considered, when he gave it for a *Maxime* to his Son *Philip*, That if ever he would sit quiet at home, and advance his *Affairs* abroad, he should be sure to keep up his *Reputation* on the *Waters*. The truth is, this great *Emperour* had neglected his *Interest* at Sea, and it laid the foundation of the *Rebellion* of his *Low-Country Subjects*, against his Successor: To pretend to *Universal Monarchy* without *Fleets*, was long since looked on, as a Politick *Chymera*, and was wittily insinuated to *Antigonus* by *Patroclus*, when (being a *Commander* under *Ptolomy Lagus's* Son) he sent him a *Present* of *Fish* and green *Figgs*, intimating, that unless he had the *Sea* in his power, he had as good sit at home, and trifle: it was but labour in vain: And this was the sense of another as great a *Captain*, when reckoning up the infinite *prerogatives* which the *Sea* afforded; *Xenophon* seems to despise the

*Athenaus De-
ipnosoph.* l. 8.

*In Repub.
Athens*

Advan

Advantages of the *Land* in Comparison: Truly the *Romans* themselves, were longer in struggling for a little *Earth* in *Italy* only, than in subduing the whole *World*, after once their *Eagles* had taken flight towards the *Sea*, and urg'd their fortune on the deep. When once they had subdu'd *Agrigentum*, *Carthage* was no longer impregnable; and after they had pass'd *Gades* and the *Herculean Strait*, nothing was too hard for them, they went whither they would, and cruiz'd as far as *Thule*.

Polibius.

11. We shall not adventure to divine, who the hardy Person was who first resolv'd to trust himself to a Plank within an inch of Death, to compel the Woods to descend into the Waters, and to back the most impetuous, and unconstant Element; though probably, and for many Reasons, some-body long before the *Deluge*; *Isti sunt potentes*: 6. *Gen.* 4. *Grotius* on the place will have the *Navigations repertoires, piratae*, such as in succeeding Ages were *Jupiter, Cretemsis, Minos, &c.* Since it is not imaginable, the World, that must needs be so Populous, and was so Curious, should have continu'd so many Ages without Adventures by Sea: But, the

Altiobur & as triplex circa pithus
Hor.
digitis à morte remotus quatuor

C

first

first Vessel which we read of, was made by divine Instinct and direction, and whilst the *Prototype* lasted (which Histories tell us was many hundred years) doubtless they built many strong, and goodly Ships: But, as all things are in continual flux and Vicissitude; so the Art in time impair'd, and Men began anew to Contrive for their Safety or Necessity in Rafts, and hollow-Trees; nay, Paper, Reeds, Twigs and Leather (for of such were the rude beginnings of the finish'd Pieces we now admire) till advancing the Art, by making use of more durable Materials, they then began to Build like Ship-Wrights, when *Pyrrhon* the *Lydian* invented the bending of Planks by Fire, and made Boats of several Contignations; nor contented with the same Model, the *Plasenses*, *Mysians*, *Trojans* and other Nations, contended for the various Shapes. Thus to *Sesostris* is ascribed the Long-Ship fitted for Expedition: *Hippius* the *Tyrrian* devis'd *Carricks* and *Onerary* Vessels of prodigious bulk, for Trafick or Offence: *Athenenus* speaks of some that for their enormous structure had been taken for Mountains, and floating-Islands; such was that of

Hiero

Hiero describ'd by the *Deipnosophist*, a *Onetaria Cere-*
alia Siracusia,
&c. mooving Palace adorn'd with Gardens of the Choicest Fruit, and Trees for shade: *Hippagines* is said to have transported the first Horses in larger Boats; Others ascribe it to *Darius*, when he retir'd into *Thrace*; though we think them rather of antienter date; for what else means, the Ferrying over King *David's* Goods and Carriages, mention'd in the Second of *Samuel*? 2 Sam. 19.

Thus far the Keel; for to the divers parts of Vessels, for better Speed, and Government, several were the Pretenders. The *Thasii* added Decks; *Pisau* the *Rostrum* or *Beak-head*; *Tiphys* the Rudder; *Epalamius* compleated the Anker, which was at first but of one Flook: But, before all these, was the Use of Oars, which from the *Bireme*, *Biremis Fir-*
firix, Vallata
Turrita, &c. invented by the *Erythraei*, came at last to no less than fourty *Ordines*, or Banks (for so many had *Ptolomy Philopater's* *Plutarch, in*
Demet. Athe-
neus, lib. c. 9. Gally) which, how to reconcile with possible (though that famous Vessel were built for Pomp, and Ostentation only, and therefore with a double Prow) together with those monstrous Ships of War set forth by *Demetrius*, which had in them 4000 Rowers, let the Curious

Fboc. 717.

consult the most learned *Palmerius*, in his *Diatriba* upon a fragment of * *Memnon* : and for portentous and Costly Vessels, The late *Vendosme* built by *Lewis* the XIIIth. of *France* ; the *Swedish Magaleza*, the *Venetian Bucen-toro* ; not to omit those *Carricks* which the *Spaniard* employs yearly to his *Indies*. But, neither did all these helps suffice, 'till they added Wings too : They attribute indeed the Invention of Masts, and Cross-Yards to those of *Creete* ; but to *Theseus*, *Icarus*, and *Dedalus* the application of Sails, which 'tis said, *Proteus* first skill'd to manage, and shift with that dexterity, as he was fain'd to turn himself into all shapes ; and it was doubtless, no little wonder, to see that a piece of Cloth (or, as *Pliny*, wittily, a despicable Seed, for so he calls that of Hemp, of which Sails were made) should be contriv'd to stir such a Bulk, and carry it with that incredible celerity, from One extrem of the Earth to the Other : Of that esteem was this ingenious Invention, that, besides *Prometheus*, and the rest we nam'd, whole Countries challeng'd it, and the *Rhodians*, *Ionians*, *Corinthians*, those of *Tyris*, *Egypt*, *Agineta*,

Aegineta, *Boetia* with innumerable other, vaunt themselves Masters of the Science, nor is there any end of their Names. It were a thing impossible, to investigate by whom the several Rigings of Vessels, and compleat Equipment were brought into Use: The Skill of *Pilotage* has aids from the *Mathematics*, and *Astronomy*; and that of governing Ships in Fight is another, and a different talent. These, and many more, were the Daughters of *Time*, *Necessity*, and *Accident*; so as even to our Days, there is ever something adding, or still wanting to the Complement of this incomparable Art. Of the *Magnet* we shall speak hereafter, nor are we to despair in the perfecting of Longitudes, *Dies*, *Diem docet*, and whilst many pass, Science shall be still improv'd: We shall onely observe, concerning Men of War, Fleets, and *Armada's* for Battel, that *Minos* was reported to be the Author, which shews that manner of desperate Combat on the Waters, to be neer as antient as Men themselves, since the *Deluge*: Indeed, to this Prince do some attribute the first knowledge of Navigation, and that he disputed the Empire of the

*Vegetus, Pol-
lux, Lox, Buji-
sius, Crescenti-
us, Fournier,
&c.*

*Diod. lib. 1. 6.
Strabo, l. 10.*

Seas with *Neptune* himself, who, for his Power on the Watry Element, was esteem'd a God: But, however these particulars may be uncertain, we are able to make proof, That the first *Fregats* were built by the *English*, and generally, the best, and most Commodious Vessels for all sort of Uses in the World; and, as the Ships, so Those who Man them, acknowledg'd for the most Expert, and Couragious in it. But,

12. From the Building of Ships, we pass to the most Celebrious Expeditions that have been made in them. The *Gentiles* (who doubtless took *Saturn* for *Noah*, and his Sons, for other of the Deities) magnifie sundry of their Adventures by Sea: And, if from the immediate Off-spring of that ancient Patriarch, *Sem*, and *Japhet*, the *Asiatick* Isles, and those at remoter distance in the *Mediterranean* and *European* Seas, were peopl'd (whilst the Continent, and less dissever'd *Africk*, was left to *Cham*) we have a certain *Epoche*, for the earliest Expeditions, and, shall less need to insist on those of the *Mythical*, and *Heroic* Age; the Exploits of *Osiris*, *Heracles*, *Cadmus*; the Wandrings of *Ulysses*,

Ulysses, and the Leaders that expugn'd
Troy. To touch but a few of these ;
Bacchus, whose Dominion lay about
the Gulph of *Perſia*, made of the first
Adventures, when from him (after the
Rape of *Ariadne*) the *Tyrrian* Pirates
learn'd the Art of Navigation, or rather
to become more skillful Rovers ; If at
least, they were not of the first for
Antiquity in this Art ; Since the *Pha-*
nicians (whether expell'd by *Josbua*, or
transported by their Curiosity) having
spread their name in the *Mediterra-*
nean, were admir'd as Gods for their
boldness on the Waters, and esteem'd
among the first that Navigated, accord-
ing to that of the Poet,

Prima ratem ventis credere docta Tyrus. Tibullus.

That *Gadmus* sail'd into *Greece*, Peo-
pl'd those Isles in the *Ægean*, taught
them Letters, and Sciences, as he had
learn'd them from the *Hebrews*, we
have undoubted testimony : Some af-
firm that the *Phanicians* circl'd the
World long since, and *Herodotus* has
something to that purpose, where in
his *Melpomene*, he speaks of those
whom King *Necus* caus'd to Embark

Prosopius.

* Vide *Volar*,
Flaccum A-
gonaut. l. 8.
Herodot. *Hi-*
schium, *Sui-*
dam, *Senecam*,
Lucianum,
Strabonem.
 Amongst the
 Poets, *Virgil*,
Pers. *Statius*,
 &c.

from the *Red Sea*, and that ten years after return'd home by the Columns of *Hercules* through the Streights: However, that they penetrated far beyond the *Western Ocean*, and the Shores of *Africk*, the Expedition of *Hanno* in a Navy of LX. Ships makes out by Grave Writers; so their coming as far as our *Britain*, the Pillars which they fixt at *Gades*, and *Tingis*, to which some report they were crept in early daies: And as towards the *West*, so *Eastward*, taking Colonies from *Elana* and the *Persian-Gulph*. As to what they might be for Merchants, illustrious is the proof out of *Esay*, where *Tyrus* is call'd the *Crowning City*, whose Merchants are Princes, and whose *Trafickers* the honourable of the Earth; when under the pretence of Transporting Commodities into *Greece*, they carried away *Iö*, Daughter of *Inachus*, which the *Cretans* requited, when shortly after, their amorous God, sail'd away with the fair *Europa* in the *White-Bull*; for so was the Vessel call'd, which gave Occasion to the Fable, and serves to prove, how antient the giving Names, and * Badges is. Indeed so expert were those of *Crete* in Sea-Affairs, and so

numerous

numerous in *Shipping*, as by the suffrage of ancient times, there were none durst contend with them for *Sovereignty*: let us hear the *Tragadian*,

O maria vasti Creta Dominatrix freti, Sen. Trag. in
Cujus per omne littus innumere, Rates Hippolyta.
Tenuere Pontum: quicquid Assyria tenuis
Tellure Nereus pervium Rostris secat.

13. The *Colchick* Exploit in the famous *Argo* (so call'd from her nimble Sailing) was perform'd by above 50 Gallants, of which Nine were Chief under *Jason*, and *Glaucus* his Experienced Pilot: But, whether they went to those Countries about the *Euxine* Shores in hopes of Golden Mines (shadow'd by the Fleece) or in expectation of the *Philosophers Stone* (said to be in possession of King *Ata*) we leave to the *Romancers*: There is in *Homer* a List of *Hero's*, and Ships under their command, mention'd to be set out by the *Navarchus*, or *States-General* of those Provinces, reported to have been no less than a Thousand;

(*rina.*

Non anni domugre decem, non mille Ga- Illad.

And

And that this Number is not fictitious ; not onely the wondrous exactness of the Poet in describing the Commanders by Name , but the Number of Ships under each Flag , as the Learned Mr. *Stanley* makes it good beyond exception in his excellent Notes upon *Æschylus* , and we propose the Instance , because it is so very remarkable for its Antiquity.

14. But, to quit these dark, and less certain Memorials , and mingle that of Commerce with Martial Undertakings : The First for whom we have Divine , and Infalible Record , is of the Greatest, and the Wisest Prince , that ever sway'd a Scepter : For , though it appear, the *Phenicians* had us'd the Sea before , and , perhaps , were the * first *Merchants* in the World since the Deluge : Yet , it was *Solomon* doubtless , who open'd the Passages to the South , when animated by his directions , and now leaving-off their Rafts , and Improving their Adventures in Ships , and Stouter Vessels , they assay'd to penetrate the farthest *Indies* , and visit an Unknown *Hemisphere* : or if haply , they prevented him ; yet , were now glad to joyn with this glorious Monarch ; because of those advantageous

Porta

* Πρώτοι δὲ
ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἀ-
νελθόντες ἀμ-
φότερον. Di-
onys. Περικύ.

Ports his Father had taken from the *Idumeans*, which might otherwise interrupt their Expeditions. What a Mass of Gold, and other precious things (the peculiar Treasure of Princes) this Fleet of his brought home, the succeeding story relates; and there is farther notice of Mariners, whose Trading was for *Spices* and *Curiosities*; and the Voyage to *Tarsibish* (which by some is interpreted the Ocean, as indeed it signifies in the *Chaldean* Language, but doubtless, means *Tartessus* in *Spain*) is again repeated. *Jehoshaphat*, after *Solomon*, neglected not these prosperous beginnings, though, not with equal Success; for the Ships were broken at *Ezion-Geber*: We shall only remark, upon the Account of Commerce, that *Solomon* had no less than two Fleets destin'd for Traffick, of which, One went to *Ophir* (perhaps *Sopbra*, *Taproban*, or *Ceilon*) in the *East-Indies*, and the Other to *Tarsus*, that is (*Tartessus*) *Cales*; which being Then, and long after esteem'd for the utmost Confine of the World, had its name from the *Phenicians*, as well as divers other places, and Ports of *Europe* (even as far as *Italy*, *France*, and *Britany* it self) which both They, and We

2 Chron. 9. 21.

Cant. 5. 11.
Dan. 10. 5.

See *Bochartus*
Phaleg. l. 3.
c. 7. Canaan,
l. 1. c. 34.

We reserve to this day in no obscure footsteps: And that *Spain* abounded in plenty of *Gold* too (whatever some superficial Searchers think) we learn from *Strabo, Diodorus, Mela, Pliny*, and several Grave Authors, whose attestation may be of good weight; the *Tyrians*, and *Phanicians* frequently Sailing into those Parts. But, though we had yet no print of this from the Sacred Volumes, it is not to be devis'd, how the Isles of the *Gentiles*, and other Places of inaccessible distance could be planted and furnish'd, without those early Intercourses by Sea, which, by degrees (as in part is shew'd) accomplish'd the Dominions of Warlike-Men, and States, and encourag'd some to stupendious Attempts.

15. To proceed to Instances of unquestionable Credit, we have those of the *Persians*, and *Greeks* both before, and since the *Peloponnesiack* War: And, indeed the *Greeks* were the first of the *Heathens* that joyn'd Learning with Arms, that did both Do and Write what was worthy to be remembred; and that small parcel of Ground, whose greatness was then onely valu'd by the virtue of the Inhabitants, planted *Tra-*
pizond

pizzoni in the East, and divers other Cities in Asia the Less, the protection of whose Liberties was the first Cause of War between them and the Persians: As to Exploits, the Athenians, and smaller Islands of the Ægean, exceedingly amplified their Bounds with their Naval-Power; so as Thucydides enumerates their Annual descents upon Peloponnesus, during that Quarrel: But, the Exploits of Alcibiades, both when so ungratefully Exil'd from his Country, and after he was again restor'd to it, were celebrated in story, as well as those of Conon, under whom, we first hear of a Treasurer of the Navy, for the better Paying of the Sea-men, even in those early daies: But, these Conflicts did many of them concern the Persian by Tissaphernes under Darius, Artaxerxes, and others: The Differences also with the Megarenses, where Pisistratus obtain'd the Victory, and the Exploits of Themistocles; but, especially that dectory Battle in which Xerxes's Fleet of 1500 Men of War, was vanquish'd by less than 400, which gave the absolute Dominion of the Sea to one City, and so enrich'd it, that the Lacedemonians (envious at her prosperity)

Justin. l. 5.

prosperity) maintain'd a War against it, to the almost ruine of both, see the effects of Avarice! But this was indeed before the *Peloponnesian War*, between the *LXXX* and *LXXXIV Olympiad*, and first commenc'd against Strangers, and then the *Lacedemonians*, *Coryceans*, and other their Neighbours for the space of Seven years continuance, till by the Courage, and good Conduct of *Lysander*, a Peace was at last concluded, with the destruction of *Athens*, as it usually happens to the First who give the Occasion, and are the Aggressors. She was yet set-up once again, by that gallant Exile whom we nam'd, under the Banner of *Artaxerxes*; but so to the desolation of poor *Greece* (weakn'd by her many Conflicts) that King *Philip*, and his Son *Alexander*, soon took their Advantage, to make themselves, first Masters at Sea, and then of the World; for they are infallible Consequents. And here we might speak something of *Corinth*, a City (if ever any) emulous of the highest praises for Traffick, and Exploits at Sea; but we involve her amongst the *Grecians*, and pass over to the opposite shoar; where; upon division of the
Mace-

Macedonian Empire, we find the *Carthaginians* (a People originally from *Tyrus*) of the earliest fame for Commerce, and so well appointed for the Sea, as gave terror to *Rome* her self: Nor do we forget the *Syracusans*, renowned for their many glorious Actions at Sea, which continu'd to the very *Punick War*, the most obstinate that History has recorded.

16. It was 492 years from the Foundation of the City, before they had Achieved any thing considerable on the Waters; when finding the wonted Progress of their Victories obstructed by those of *Carthage* (then Lords at Sea) they fell in earnest to the Building of Ships of War, and devising Engines of Offence, which before they hardly thought of. Their first Expedition by Sea, was under *Appius Claudius*, against the *Sicilians*, which made those of *Africa* look about them, and gave rise to the *Punick War* under *Gaius Duilius*, and his Collegue, with an hundred Rostrated Vessels, and 75 Gallies: But, the most memorable for number, was, when the two Admirals *Regulus*, and *L. Manlius*, with above an hundred thousand Men (in Ships that had

had every one $\overline{300}$ at the Oar) were encounter'd with a yet more prodigious force, in the Battle at *Heraclea*, unfortunate to the *Carthaginians*: But, neither did it so determine: For, when *Hannibal* (returning out of *Spain*) invaded *Italy*; The *Romans* found no better expedient to divert him, than by dispatching *Scipio*, with a Fleet into *Africa*. The third, and last Contest (after a little repose) determin'd not till the utter ruine, and subversion of that emulous Neighbour. These several Conflicts with this hostile City (which lasted near Twenty years) are admirably describ'd by *Polybius*; especially that of *M. Regulus*, who, with that unequal Power, fought three Battles in one day; and, in another, *Æmilius* (with about the same number of Ships) took, and sunk above an hundred more, and slew near $\overline{40000}$ of the Enemy, though by the terrible and unfortunate Wrack, which afterwards surpriz'd him, such another Victory had undone them. They made War, after this; with the *Achaïans*, *Balearians*, *Gilicians*, *Sertorians*, and those of *Crete*; indeed, wheresoever they found Resistance, diffident yet at first,

of

of this unaccustom'd manner of Com-
bate, and which for sometime, caus'd
them to lay it by; but, they quickly
resum'd it, and overcoming all diffi-
culties, then Onely might be said to
speed Conquerours of the World,
when they had Conquer'd the Sea, and
subdu'd the Waters.

17. The *Piratick-War* of *Pompey*
we find celebrated by *Tully*, *pro Lege*
Manilia: He invaded the *Cyclades*;
won *Corcyra*, got *Athens*, *Pontus*, and *Bithynia*, and cleared the Seas with
that wonderful diligence, that in forty
daies time, he left not a Rover in all
the *Mediterranean*, though grown to
that power, and number, as to give
terroure to the Common-wealth. We
forbear to speak of *Sextus* his unfor-
tunate Son, vanquish'd by the Trea-
chery of his *Libertus* † *Menodorus*, and
pass to the great *Augustus*, who in many
Sea-Conflicts signaliz'd his Courage;
especially, in that Decretory Battail
at *Actium*, where the Contest was *de*
summa Rerum, and the World by Sea,
first subdu'd to the Empire of a single
Person. What discoveries this mighty
Prince made, did as far exceed his
Prædecessours, as the frozen *North*,

Florus, *Flu-*
tarch.

† Call'd also
Menas by *Hi-*
race Epod.

and horrid Coasts of *Cimbria*, the milder Clime of our *Britain*, which was yet in those daies esteem'd another World, and her Boundaries, as much unknown, as those of *Virginia* to us: 'Twas call'd *Alter Orbis*; and Grave

* Especially
Clem. Romanus.
See also *Clau-*
dinus, Servius,
Josephus, Dio,
Eutropius,
Scaliger, &c.

* Authors, who speak of the unpassableness of the *Ocean*, mention the Worlds that lay beyond it: *Morinorum gentem ultimam esse Mortalium*, says *Ptolemy*; and the Prince of Poets,

— *Extremique hominum Morini.*

Sen. in Med.

For it appears no late fancy, that all was not discover'd long before *Columbus*; though those who took the Heavens for a kind of hollow-Arch, covering onely what was then detested, little dream'd of *Antipodes*: 'Tis famous yet what the Prophetick *Tragædian* has offer'd at, and a thing beyond dispute, that the Antients had the same notions of our Country, as we of *America*: But to leave these Enquiries at present (till we come more particularly to speak of our Country in the following *Series*) we shall onely, as to the *Romans*, give the Curious a taste, what Care these Wise People had

had of their Naval Preparations, when once (as we have shew'd) they found the Importance of it, and after how prudent a Method they dispos'd it.

18. *Augustus* had in his Military Establishment one Squadron of Men of War at *Ravenna*, as a constant Guard of the *Adriatic*; and another riding at *Misenum*, to scower the *Tyrrhen-Sea*, together with a *Brigade* of Foot-Souldiers at either Port, to clap on Board upon any sudden occasion. The *Misenian-Fleet* lay conveniently for *France*, *Spain*, *Morocco*, *Africk*, *Ægypt*, *Sardinia*, and *Sicily*; That at *Ravenna*, for *Epirus*, *Macedon*, *Achaia*, *Propontis*, *Pontus*; The *Levantine* parts, *Creete*, *Rhodes*, and *Cyprus*, &c. So as by the Number of their Vessels, and Arms, they made a Bridge (as it were) to all their Provinces, and vast Dominions at what distance soever: And many of these particulars we could farther Illustrate by Meda's, and noble Inscriptions, to be gather'd out of good Records, did we need the Ostentation of any farther Researches: We shall only observe, that they had their *Prætorio Præfectus*, who In-

Sueton. in Aug. c. 49.

Vegetius.

Notitia Imperii.

MIL. CL. P.
R. AR. Miles
Classis Prætorie
Ravennatis.
PRÆTOR.
MAR. ET
CL. M. R.
Militiæ Ravennatis.

spected all this. *Marine* Laws and Customs they also had: Whence was it else that the Corn-fleet was still from *Alexandria* to make *Puteoli*, as it were by Coquet bound? So the Ships of that Port: See *Acts* 28. 11, 12, 13. Whence else was it that onely the same Corn-fleet, as being of so absolute necessity for the sustenance of the *Imperial* City, had the Priviledge to come into Harbour with Top and Top-Gallant; unless the rest did *Supparum dimere*, or strike Sail to the Ports of the Empire? So early was the claim to the Flag, and the Ceremonies of Naval-Honour frated. Yet higher; Their Rostrate-Crowns; and that pretty Insolence by Act of Senate allow'd to *C. Duillius* after having won the *Romans* their first Victory at Sea, that he should, all his life after, be brought to the publick Entertainments in the Town-Hall with a Pipe playing before him; and *Flambeaux* on each side; that *Column* too, whose Fragments yet preserv'd, exhibit with the memory of that Illustrious Action, perhaps the Ancientest piece of *Latin* now extant, at least in the Originals. All these allegations do abundantly testifie with what transports

See Tully de
Senect.

Grimar's In-
scriptions.

ports of joy that aspiring people receiv'd the Accession of Power by Sea. They also had their *Decuria Fabrorum Rhavennatium*, Master Ship-Wrights of the Dock at *Rhavenna*; and, we find Fire-Ships mention'd in * *Frontinus*; Stink-Pots, nay Snake-Pots, and False-Colours; for such, we read, were us'd by *Cassius*, *Scipio*, *Annibal*, *M. Portius*, *Iphicrates*, *Pisistratus*, and others: And, if the *Trajan* Port at *Ostia* were now extant, we might see such a pattern of a Mole, Lantern, Magazine for Ships, and Accommodation for Merchants Goods, as was never before in the World, and would put to shame all modern Industry of that Nature; to shew the care they had, and the prodigious Expences they made, for this so important, and necessary a VVork: But these things hapning in her early and best daies, the fervour quickly abated; for from the Death of *Augustus*, and some few of the succeeding Emperours (as in that † decline, by the Conduct of *Belizarius*, *Artabanes*, and some of the later Captains) the *Romans*, as powerful by Land as they were, performed not much at Sea: Those glorious Actions were the Consequents of

Front. Strategem., l. 4 c. 7.

† Vide Procopium, l. 3. Paulus Diaconus, l. 14.

a frugal and vigilant People; But, when Softness, and Prodigality took off their Minds from the great, and noble Enterprizes of their Ancestors, and the Defence of their Country was discompos'd by Factions among themselves, the *Goths, Vandales, Lombards,* and *Saracens* broke in upon them, to the utter ruine, and subversion of that renowned Empire.

19. But the Business of *Navigation*, and *Commerce* (which could not long be Eclips'd, so soon as a Magnanimous Prince appear'd) was again Reviv'd untler *Charles* the Great; about whose time, it were not hard to find out the Original of almost all the Naval-Offices, and *Thalassarchia* or Admiralty, to this Day continuing; as appears in both the *Notitiæ Imperii Occidentalis & Orientalis*, wherein there occur divers notable Particulars concerning them, even till the loss of *Constantinople*, and the Imperial Seat it self: But, to trace this great Article from its source, and shew the Progress it has made in the Ages past, we have but to look over the *Catalogue* which *Eusebins* has given us, adjusted to the *Epoché* in which they had successive *Dominion* of the Sea: namely,

namely, the *Lydians* whom (as appearing the most Conspicuous) he sets in the *Van*: Then the *Pelasgi*, *Thracæ*, *Rhodians*, *Phrygians*, *Phanicians*, the *Egyptians*, *Milesians*, those of *Caria*, *Lesbia*, the *Phocenses*, *Naxii*, *Eretrienes*, *Æginetæ* and others too long to recite: Let us look back to the *Egyptians*, who we read, were so addicted to Traffick, as they essayed to joyn the *Mediterranean* with the *Red-Sea*, and thereby open a passage to the Commerce of *Arabia*, *Æthiopia*, and the Shoars of *India*: VVhich attempt (unsuccessful as it prov'd) did not yet impeach the *Alexandrian* Staple, from whence *Rome* of Old, the *Genoezes*, *Venetians*, and others of later date, have inriched themselves: For the *Eastern* Scale being in *Cæsars* time at *Coptos*, and afterwards, remov'd to *Alexandria*; when the *Arabs* and *Goths* overran the VVorld (and the *Indian* Trade interrupted) was convey'd to *Trebizonde* upon the *Euxine*, and from thence by *Caravan* to *Aleppo*, thence again recover'd to the *Red-Sea*, and *Alexandria* by the *Sultan*, who then possessed *Cairo*, where it was long Monopoliz'd by the *Venetians*, of whom we

† *Lih.* 17.

give a more particular Account. VVhat immense Treasure the *Romans* received out of *Asia*, and *Syria*; out of *Africa* from *Ægypt*, and by the *Nile*; the *Persian* Gulph, and from *India*, we are told out of *Strabo* †. This Merchandize was first convey'd over-Land from *Berenice*, by *Philadelphus* (to avoid the perils of Navigating the *Red-Sea*) to *Popta* on the *Nilus*; and thence (with the Stream) to *Alexandria*, though many Ships adventur'd to pass from *Muris* (or the *Berenice* above-mention'd) even to the very *Indies*; by which means there came Yearly to *Rome*, no less than 1000 Tuns of Gold, besides other precious Commodities. But, when the Empire fell to decay, the *Venetians* (as we noted) took their advantage, till then a few scatter'd Cotages of poor Fisher-men, and others, Fugitives from the *Gotic* Inundation, and settling by degrees upon a Cluster of divers muddy, and almost, inaccessible Islands: See what Commerce can effect! But, these Industrious People assay'd another way, namely, from *Ganges* through *Bactria*, and the River *Oxus*, and so the *Caspian* Lake, *Asracan* and the *Volga*; thence
to

to *Tanais* by the *Euxine*, and so to *Venice*; truly an immense Circle, and which soon wearied them out, when even of later times, the *Negoce* of *India* was supplied from *Tripoly*, and *Alexandretta* (Cities of *Syria*) and from *Aleppo* by *Caravan*, to which *Scale Merchants* came from *Armenia*, *Arabia*, *Egypt*, *Persia*, and generally, from all the *Oriental* Countries. From *Aleppo* again they return'd to *Bir* near the *Euphrates*; thence to *Badaget*, or *Ophram* in *Media*; *Balsara*, and the Gulph all down the Stream: To this *Balsara* is yet brought all sorts of *Indian* Commodities, as far as *Aethiopia*, and the Islands of that Ocean; where being charg'd on smaller Vessels, they are tow'd-up against the *Euphrates* to *Bagdet*; in which Passage, being now and then interrupted by the Thievish *Arabs* (especially at the Frontiers) Intelligence is familiarly convey'd by the Inter-nunce of *Pidgeons* trained up for the purpose, that is, carried in open Cages from the *Dove-houses*, and freed, with their Letters of Advice (contriv'd in narrow scrowls about their bodies, and under the wing) which they bring with wonderful Expedition:

- tion: as they likewise practice it from *Scanderoon* to *Aleppo* upon the coming-in of Ships, and other Occasions. These were the later Intercourses from *Venice* to, and from the *Oriental* Parts, till in the Year 1497, that the famous *Vasco de Gama* (that fortunate *Portugueze*, and whom we may truly call the *Restorer of Navigation*) found out a nearer VVay, by going farther about : For *Henry*, the Third Son of *John* the First of *Portugal*, hearing that *Bethen-Court*, a *Norman*, had detected certain Islands in the *Atlantick* Ocean some years before ; sent two Ships in search of the *Africa* Shoars Southwards : Ten Years after this, *Consalvo*, and *Tristan Vaz* made discovery of * *Madera*, and certain *Genoëzes* had sail'd as far as the *Sierra Leone*, within eight Degrees of the *Æquator* ; after which, there was little advance till the Reign of *Alphonsus* the Second, in whose time, the *Portuguezes* Coasted as far as the Promontory of *St. Katharine* under the second Degree of Southern Latitude : But, *John* the Second sending men by the old Way of *Alexandria*, and the *Midland-Sea* to *Goa*, *Peter Covilan*, an Active Spirit amongst them, hearing of

* Detected before by one Macha an Englishman.

a famous Cape, which extending it self far into the Sea, and that being doubl'd, did open a passage into the *East*, brought News of it to King *Emanuel* (then Reigning) who thereupon, employ'd the two Brothers *Vasques* (whom we nam'd) and *Paulo*, with four Vessels, and 160 Men, with that Success, as to discover a passage to the *Indies* by *Long-Sea*, to the almost utter ruine of *Venice*; and, in a short time after, to the total Interruption of that tedious Circle by *Land*, *Rivers*, and *Lakes*, which we have been describing; nor are we to forget *Petrus Alvarez*, *Almeida*, and others: And in this manner, for divers Years (at least till the Reign of *John* the Third) did the *Portugals* and *Spaniards* carry the Trade of the World, from the rest of the World, till the *HOLLANDERS* (being prohibited all Intercourse with the Ports belonging to the *Catholick-Kings*) attempted the same Discovery, and in short time, so out-did the former; that, by the Year 1595, they had Establish'd a Company for the *East-Indies*, and within a while after, another for the *West*, which has subdu'd the best part of *Brazile*,
and

1624.

1628.

and in the Year 1628, fought, and took the *Spanish* Plate-Fleet, to their immense Enrichment: But, in what manner they have settled themselves and Factories in those Parts, and by what Arts maintain'd it, will require a fuller discovery.

20. We not long-since mention'd the *Goths* and *Vandals*, and who almost has taken Notice of the Ancient Port of *Wisbuy*, formerly a Receptacle of Ships, and famous *Emporium* in those Parts? when even the Laws, and Ordinances of *Wisbuy*, took place like those of *Oleron*, from *Muscovy*, to the Streights of *Gibraltar*; and though both *Olaus Magnus*, *Herbestan*, and Others have exceedingly celebrated this City, and Haven; Yet we cannot learn, how it came to be deserted, unless by the Luxury, and Dissentions of the Inhabitants; by none (that we can find) recorded: But, that it was once in so flourishing a state, testify the yet remaining Heaps, the Columns of *Marble*, *Jasper*, and *Porphyrus*: the Gates of Brass and Iron, exquisitely wrought, and other foot-steps of August foundations. *Albertus* the *Swedish* King, endeavour'd by great Privileges, to have

have (it seems) establish'd again, and restor'd it to its ancient splendour, but it did not succeed: Nevertheless, the Laws we mention'd (written in the Old *Theutonick* Language, and without date) obtain'd amongst the *Germans*, *Danes*, *Flemmings*, and almost all the *Northern* People: We mention the Instance to shew, that as some Places have set-up, and thriven by their Industry; so Others, have lost what they once possess'd; and that this Vicissitude is unavoidable, *Tyrus*, and *Carthage*, and *Corinth*, and *Syracuse* (that in their turns contended with all the World for *Navigation* and *Commerce*) are pregnant Examples. The famous *Brundisium* (whence the Great *Pompey* fled from the fortune of *Cesar*) is now quite choak'd-up: *Joppa* is no more, and *Tingis*, which of old deriv'd its Name from *Commerce*, and was a renown'd *Emporium* near three hundred Years before *Carthage* was a City, was lately the Desolate *Tanger*; though now again, by the Influence of our glorious Monarch, raising its aged head with fresh vigour: But, what's become of hundreds we might Name; *Spina* near *Ravenna*, *Luna* in *Etruria*, *Lesbus*, and

Strabo, Dionys.
Halicanus.
See *Isaiah*,
even c. 23.

even *Athens* her self? When nearer home, and at our own doors, *Staveren* in *Friezland*, anciently a famous Port, now desolate, *Antwerp* (lately the Staple for the Spice and Riches of the *East*, and that Sold more in one Month, than *Venice* did in four and twenty) lies abandon'd: The stately *Genoa* (which once employ'd twice-twenty thousand hands in the Silken Manufacture) is now, with her Elder-Sister *Venice*, ebbing apace; *Venice*, I say, the Belov'd of the Sea, seems now forlorne, compar'd to what she was, and from how a small a principle she had spread!

21. The *Bretons* and *Normans* (especially against the *Saracens*) those of *Province*, *Marselles*, *Narbon*, &c. had long since been famous at Sea, we say, long since; for the ancient *Gaules* had great Commerce with those of *Carthage* (as appears out of *Polibius* and *Livy*) but the *French* in general, have of later daies, and since the Reign of *Charles* the Eighth, performed little considerable: *Francis* the First (that Magnificent Prince, who had made the famous *Andrea d'Orta* his *Admiral*) built indeed no less than fifty Gallies for the *Italick*-War, and had some Con-

flicts

flirts with our King his Neighbour ;
But *Henry* the Fourth, seem'd wholly
negligent of Sea-affairs, as relying up-
on the Generosity of *Queen Elizabeth*,
in whose daies, neither He, nor any
other Potentate about her, durst pre-
tend to Shipping, or such Fleets as
might give jealousy to their Allies ;
which, had this incomparable Prin-
cess, or, rather, her Peaceful Successor,
as well observ'd with the *Hollanders* in
point of *Commerce* and *Trade* too ; the
Ages to come, as well as present, had
been doubly oblig'd to their memory :
But the Scene is now chang'd, as well
with them as with *France* ; since Car-
dinal *de Richlieu*, in the Reign of *Lewis*
the Thirteenth, Instituting a Colledge,
and Fraternity of *Merchants* about
thirty Years since ; and by Opening,
Enlarging, and Improving their Ports
and Magazines, has put the present
Monarch into such a Condition, as has
exceedingly advanc'd his *Commerce*,
and given Principle to no inconsidera-
ble Navy ; and if * *Claudius Sessellius* * *De Repub.*
the *Bishop* of *Marselles's* Prophecies *Galliz, l. 2.*
succeed (who writ about the time of
Lewis the Twelfth) the *Northern*
World is like to have an importunate
Neigh-

Neighbour within few Years to come, from his growing Power, even upon the *Ocean*.

22. The *Danes*, and more *Northern* People were formidable (especially to this Island) under the Conduct of their brave *Canute*, *Ubbon* the *Frizian*, and other Captains; making frequent descents upon Us in mighty *Fleets*, encounter'd by the *Saxons*: But, all these living more by *Brigandize*, and *Piracy*, than by *Traffick*, gave place to the *Spaniards*, and *Portugals*, whose successful Expeditions, and Discoveries, have rendred them deservedly more VVorthy for these last six, or seven hundred Years, than any we have hitherto mention'd, for their shedding of Blood, and Invasions. Nor with less Glory, and timely application of themselves to Sea-Affairs, did the formerly-mention'd *Genoëzes*, and others of the *Ligurian* Coast, signalize their Courage, as well as their dexterity in *Traffick*; especially, against the *Saracens*; since which, they did exceedingly flourish; till the Dukes of *Tuscany*, by better Policy, and the direction of Count *Dudley* (pretended Duke of *Northumberland*) raising its Neighbour *Ligorn* from a despicable,

despicable, and neglected Place, to a Free and well-defended Port, did well nigh ruin it; for, by this means, the greatest *Merchants* for repute in the World (namely those of *Genoa*) are become the greatest, and sordidst *Usurers* in it; as having otherwise little means to employ the *Riches*, which they formerly got, by a more honest, and natural way of *Trade*: But, as the Opening of *Marselles* may in time endanger that of *Ligorn*, whilst the *French King* is courting all the World with *Naturalization*, and other popular Immunities; other Princes are instructed how to render themselves Considerable, who are blest with any advantageous Post upon the bordures of the *Ocean*; and, of This, *Gotenberg* (not to mention *Villa-Franca*, and some other Ports) is now a worthy Instance, which, till of late, was hardly known beyond its Wooden *Suburbs*, though it must be acknowledg'd, that both the *Danes* and *Sweeds* had perform'd notable Exploits; the former from *Herald the Third*, by the Conduct of *Ubbom the Frisian* (not to insist on their heavy Impositions on this *Island*) and the latter from *Gustavus the first*, who

E serv'd

serv'd himself of *Gallies* even upon the *Northern Seas*, built for him by the *Venetians*, and set out that enormous Ship, we mention'd, which carryed 1300 Men: What *Conquests* the late Great *Adolphus* made, who went into *Prussia* with an *Armada* of 200 *Ships*, is known to the amazement of *Europe*.

23. We have more than once shew'd, from how humble a rise *Venice* had exalted her head, and spread the fame of her *Conquests*, as well as *Navigation*, over *Asia*, *Aegypt*, *Syria*, *Pontus*, *Greece* and other Countries, bordering upon the *Ocean*: she War'd against the *Istrians*, vanquish'd the *Saracens*. In the *Holy-land*; they won *Smyrna*, devastated all the *Phœnician* Shoars, especially under *Dominico Michaelè*, who with 200 Vessels, having rais'd the Siege of *Joppa*, took *Chius*, *Samos*, *Lesbos*; to omit their Successes against the *Genœzes* emulous of their growth, but never to forget the former, and of late, strenuous resistance against the *Turk*; especially in that signal Battle of *Le-panto*, and what their famous General *Capello* did at *Tunis*, and *Algiers* of later time, and the Building, Furniture, and
 Oeconomy

Oeconomy of their *Arsenal*, and *Magazines* Celebrated throughout the World; when (before the lucky *Portuguezes* had doubl'd the Cape of *Bon-Ispérance*) the sweet of the *Levantine* Commerce (transfer'd from this Port onely) invited men to build not Ships alone, but Houses, and Palaces in the very bosom of *Neptune*, with a stupendious Expence, and almost miraculous: The *Government* of their *Maritime-Affairs*, care of their *Forrests*, *Victualling*, Courage and Industry of their GREATEST *Noble-men*, who are frequently made *Captains* of single *Gallies*, and sometimes arriving to be Chief *Admirals*, come near a *Dictatorship*; are things worthy of praise; and of the Name they have obtain'd. *Genoa* (whom we mention'd) had signaliz'd it self against the *Saracens*, the *Republic* of *Pisa*, and even *Venice* it self, especially under *Paganus Doria* in the Year 1352, near the *Bosphorus* Streight; and with the *Island* of *Tenidos* had been hir'd by the Young *Andronicus* to come into his assistance: From the time of *Cosmo di Medices*, and *Sylvius Piccolomini* their *Admiral*, the *Florentines* gave proof of their *Valour* in *Africa*, and of

their Care for Sea Affairs, the *Arsenal* at *Pisa* gives a commendable Instance.

24. The *Rhodans* (to whom some attribute even the Invention of *Navigation*, and whose Constitutions were universally receiv'd) obtain'd a mighty repute at *Sea*; and the Courageous Exploits of the *Maltezes*, and other Military Orders against the Common Enemy, the *Turk*, are renown'd over the World; witness, *ten thousand* which they slew, and half as many that they took in the Year 1308, with *hundred thousands* of those *Misericants* destroy'd by them since their removal to *Malta*; especially when joyn'd with the *Cal-lies* of *Venice* and *Genoa*, in the Years 1601, 1625, 1638, and other slaughters innumerable. We name the *Turk*, and they give us Cause to remember them, by what the *Christian Pale* has too often felt, when more by their Numbers, than their Courage, they took from it *Cyprus*, *Rhodes*, and the never to be forgotten *Candia*; besides, their Conquests and Incurfions, on the rest of *Europe* and *Asia*: They are not, 'tis Confess'd, of any Name for much Commerce, but for the Disturbance of it, which calls aloud

aloud upon the *Christian* World to put a timely period to their Insolence, before it be incorrigible, and to pursue the bold, and brave Exploits of our *Blakes*, *Lawsons*, and *Sprags* against the *Moores* and *Barbares*, and by Example of our Heroic Prince, to restore that Security to Trade, which can onely make it Re-flourish.

25. The *Aethiopians*, *Persians*, *Indians* and *Chinezes* (for those of *Tartary*, present, or ancient *Scyth*s, come hardly into this Account) may be reckon'd among the Nations of Traffic; Especially, the last nam'd, as who are by some thought to have had knowledge of the *Magnet* before the *Europeans*: nay, so addicted were they to *Sailing*, that they invented *Veliferous Chariots*, and to Sail upon the Land: It was long since that they had intercourse with those of *Madagascar*, and came sometimes as far as the *Red-Sea* with their Wares; and for *Vessels*, have to this day about *Nankin*, *Fonks* of such prodigious size, as seem like *Cities*, rather than *Ships*, bui't full of Houses, and replenish'd with whole Families: In short, There is hardly a Nation so rude, but, who in some degree, Cul-

tivate *Navigation*, and are Charm'd with the Advantages of *Commerce*: But, it would cost an immense Volume, to discourse at large of these things in particular, and to mention onely, the brave Men, who have in all Ages signaliz'd themselves at Sea for their Arms, or, more peaceful Arts; to Count the Names of the famous Captains, and Adventures of later times, whose Expeditions have been VVar-like, and for Invasion, and many for Discoveries and Commerce. Here, then we Contract our Sails, and shall direct our Course nearer home, from whence we have been so long diverted.

26. The First, that presents it self to our second Consideration, are the *Spaniards*, and *Castilians*, who (upon the Success of their Neighbours the *Portugals*) making use of that fortunate Stranger *Columbus*, prompted by a magnanimous Genius, and a little Philosophy, discover'd to us a New VWorld: This Great Man, being furnish'd-out by *Ferdinand*, and *Isabella* of *Castile*, in four Voyages, which he made from the Year 1492, to An. 1502, detected the *Antillias*, *Cuba*, *Jamaica*, &c. with some of the *Terra firma*; though

though to let pass *Zeno* (a Noble *Venetian*, reported to have discover'd the North-East part of *America* above an hundred Years before) there be, who tell us, that a certain obscure Mariner (*Alphonso Zanches de Huelva* by name) had the first sight of this goodly prospect, eight years before this glorious *Genève* (for *Columbus* was of that City) or any the pretenders: This poor Sea-man, hurried upon those unknown Coasts by Tempests (which continu'd for almost a full Month) was carried as far as *St. Domingo* in *Hispaniola*: How he return'd is not said; but, that from the Observations of this Adventure, *Christophero* receiv'd the first notices of what he afterwards improv'd, being at that time in the *Maderas*, where *Zanches* arriving, died not long after, and bequeath'd him all his *Charts* and *Papers*. There are likewise who affirm, that some mean *Bisayers* (loosing themselves in pursuit of *Whale-Fishing*) had fall'n upon some of the *American* Islands, above an hundred years, before either of the former; but, since of this we have no Authentic proofs; Certain it is, that *Columbus*, taking his Conjectures from the Spiring of cer-

1390.

tain Winds from the *Western* Points, by strong Impulse, concluded, that there must needs be some Continent towards those Quarters: Upon this Confidence, he offers first, his Service to *John* King of *Portugal*, and then, to our *Henry* the *Seventh* of *England*, by both which Princes rejected for a *Romantic* Dream, he repairs to the Court of *Spain*, where, partly by his Importunity, and much by the favour of *Isabella*, he was with great difficulty set-out at last, when to equip him, the *Royal Lady* was fain to pawn some of her *Jewels*: But it was well Repaid, when for the value of 17000 Crowns, he not long after, return'd her almost as many Tuns of *Treasure*, and, within eight or nine Years, to the Kings sole Use, above 1500000 of *Silver*, and 360 Tuns of *Gold*: See the Reward of Faith, and of things not seen! These fortunate beginnings were pursu'd by *Americus Vesputius* (a *Florentine*, and a Stranger too) who being sent by *Emanuel* of *Portugal* to the *Molucca* Islands (five Years after) hapning to be driven upon the same Coast, carried away the Name, though not the Honour from all the former, though, there
be,

be, who upon good proof affirm, that *John Chabot a Venetian*, and his Son *Sebastian* (born with us at *Bristol*) had discover'd *Florida*, and the Shoars of *Virginia*, with that whole Tract as far as *New-found-Land*, before the bold *Genoëze*; nay, that *Thorn*, and *Eliot* (both Countrymen of ours) detected this *New-World* before *Columbus* ever set foot upon it; for we will say nothing of the famous *Owen Gwynedd*, whose Adventures are of yet greater Antiquity, and might serve to give Reputation to that noble Enterprize, if we had a mind to be contentious for it. But,

27. That indeed the most shining Exploits of this Age of *Discoveries*, were chiefly due to the several *Hero's* of this Island, we have but to call over the Names of *Drake*, *Hawkins*, *Cavendish*, *Furber*, *Davis*, *Hudson*, *Raleigh*, and others of no less merit: For impossible it was, that the *English* should not share in Dangers with the most Renowned, in so glorious an Enterprize; Our *Drake* being the First of any Mortal, to whom God vouchsafed the stupendious Atchievment of Encompassing, not this *New-World* alone, but *New and Old* together: Both of them

Twice

1528.

Twice embrac'd by this *Demi-God* ;
 for *Magellan* being slain at the *Mani-*
lias, was interrupted in his intended
 Course, and left the Exploit to *Seba-*
stian Camus his Collegue.

28. This Voyage of *Drake* was first
 to *Nombre de Dios* ; where coming to
 a fight of the South-Seas, with tears of
 Joy in his eyes, his mind was never in
 repose, till he had gotten into it, as in
 five years after he accomplish'd it ,
 when passing through the *Magellan*
 Streight towards the other *Indies* , and
 doubling the famous Promontory , he
 Circum-navigated the whole Earth, and
 taking from the *Spaniard* *St. Jago, Do-*
mingo, Cartagena, and other signal Pla-
 ces, Crown'd in the Name of his Mi-
 stress the Queen , at *Nova Albion* , he
 return'd to his Country , and to a
 Crown of Immortal Honour. This
 gallant Man was Leader to *Cavendish*,
 another Country-man of Ours, of no
 less Resolution ; for these brave Per-
 sons scorning any longer to creep by
 Shoars , and be oblig'd to uncertain
 Constellations ; plow'd-up unfathom-
 able Abysses, without ken of Earth or
 Heaven ; and really accomplish'd Ac-
 tions , beyond all that the *Poets* of
 Old,

Old, or any former Record (fruitful in *Wonders*) could Invent or Relate.

29. And now Every *Nation*, stimulated by these Adventures, daily added New-things to the Accomplishment of the Art: Things, I say, unknown to former Ages: And herein were the *Portugals* very prosperous, One of whose Princes brought first into Use the *Astro-labe*, and Tables of *Declination*, with other *Arithmetical*, and *Astronomical* Rules, applicable to *Navigation*; besides, what several others had from time to time Invented: But, neither were these to be compar'd to the *Nautic Box*, and seats of the *Magnet*; before which the Science was so imperfect, and Mariners so terrified at Long Voyages; that there were Laws to prohibit Sailing even upon the *Mediterranean*, during the *Winter* Season; and, however great things have been reported of *Plato's Atlantic*, the Discoveries of *Hanno*, *Eudoxius*, and others of Old time, from the *Persian Gulph*, as far as *Cales*; it was still with sneaking by the Shoar, in continual sight of Land; or by Chance, which indeed has been a fruitful Mother in these

1305.

1465.

these, and most other Discoveries ; that Men might learn Humility, and not Sacrifice to their own uncertain Reasonings. In that memorable Expedition of the *French* to Invade our Country, there was hardly a *Pilot* to be found, who durst adventure Twenty Leagues into the *Main* ; and those who had been the most assur'd, did hardly reach within many degrees of the *Æquinoctial*. The *Azores* were first stumbled-upon by a roving *Pirat*, surpriz'd by Storm : All the *Asiatic Indian Seas*, and some of *Africa*, lay almost as much in the dark, as the *Hyperboreans*, and horrid *North*. And though this defect was encounter'd more than two Ages past, by that ever to be renown'd *Italian Flavio* of *Amalphi* (for we pass what is reported of the Ancient *Arabs*, *Paulus Venetus*, and Others) yet, was it near fourscore Years after, ere it came so far *North* as these Countries of Ours, to which his Needles continually pointed. But, it was now when the Fullness of Time was come, that by this means, the *Western Indies* should be no longer a Secret, and what have been the incomparable Advantages, which this despicable *Stone* has produc'd

produc'd (the property whereof is ever to have its Poles, converted to the Poles of the World, and its Axes directed Parallel to the Axes of the World) is Argument of Admiration: But, that by vertue of this dull *Pibble*, such a Continent of Land, such Myriads of People, such inexhaustible Treasures, and so many Wonders should be brought to light, plainly Astonishes, and may Instruct the proudest of us all, not to contemn small-things; since so it oftentimes pleases the Almighty to humble the Loftiness of Men, and to Choose the Base things of the World, to Confound the Things that are Mighty. And less than This we could not say, concerning that inestimable *Jewel*, by whose Aid and Direction, the Commerce, and Traffick of the World has receiv'd such Advantages.

30. We have now dispatch'd the *Portugals* and the *Spaniards*: There remain the *ENGLISH* and the *HOLLANDERS*, who Courting the good Graces of the same Mistress, the *TRADE* of the *WORLD*, divide the *WORLD* between them: Deservedly then we Celebrate the Industry of the *Batavians*: They must really be look'd upon

as a *Wonderful People* ; nor do we diminish our selves whilst we magnifie any worthy Actions of theirs ; since it cannot but redound to our Glory , who have been the Occasion of it ; and, that as oft as they have forgotten it, we have been able to Chastize them for it : It is, I say, a Miracle , that a People (who have no Principle of *Trade* among themselves) should in so short a space , become such Masters of it : Their Growth ('tis Confess'd) is admirable ; and if it prove as solid , and permanent, as it has been speedy , *ROME* must her-self submit to the Comparison : But, we know, who has Calculated her *Nativity*, and that *Violent* things are not alwaies lasting. We will yet give them their due ; They are *Gyants* for stature, fierce in Beard and Countenance , full of goodly Towns ; Strong in *Munition* , Numerous in *Shipping* ; in a Word *HIGH* and *MIGHTY-STATES*, and all this the product of *Commerce* and *Navigation* ; but by what just Arts equally, and in all parts improv'd , we may hereafter enquire, as well as to whose Kindness they have been the most Obliged, and the most Ingrateful : We omit

Bentivoglio
hist. *Flan.*

omit to speak here of their Discoveries, and Plantations, which the Curious may find in the Journals of *Heemskerck*, *Oliver Vander-Nordt*, *Spilberg*, *Le Maire* (who went six Degrees farther South than *Magellan* himself, and found a shorter passage into those Seas) to these we may add *L'Eremite*, the late Compilers of their *Atlases*, and Others, which many Volumes would hardly comprehend, and because they are generally known; *Tacitus*, and other famous Authors have celebrated their Early Exploits at Sea, and of later times, *Fredric Barburossa* did bravely against the *Saracens* at *Jelufum* in *Egypt*: The *Frizians* greatly infested the *Danes*, and those of *Flanders*, especially under *William* the Son of *John* Count of *Holland*, and in the time of *Philip* the good Duke of *Burgundy*: They were the first that wore the *Broome*, when, *Anno* 1438, they had clear'd the *Levantine* Seas, subdu'd the *Genoëzes*, and vanquish'd the *French* about an hundred years after: How they plagu'd the *Spaniard* and *Portugals*, from the year 1572 to almost this day, there is no body ignorant of; and for that of their Discoveries, *Que*

1219.

V. Pont. Hen-
serius Austr.
L13.

vero

Dec. 1. 1. 1.

vero ignota littora, quasve desinentis mundi oras Scrutata non est Belgarum Nautica? was justly due to them from *Strada*; and the Truth is, they have merited of Fame for many Vertues, and shew'd from what small, and despicable Rudiments, Great things have emerged; and that Traffick alone, which at the first rais'd, has hitherto supported this Grandure against a most puissant *Monarch*, for almost an Age intire: But, their Admission of Forreigners, Increase of Hands, Encouraging Manufactures, Free, and Open Ports, Low Customes, Toleration of Religions, Natural Frugality, and Indefatigable Industry could indeed, portend no less. We conclude then with *ENGLAND*, which though last in Order, was not the last in our Design; when upon reflection on our late Differences with our Neighbours of *HOLLAND*, we thought it not unsuitable to Preface something concerning the Progress of that Commerce, which has been the Subject of so many Conflicts between us.

31. To the little which has been hitherto said of the great things which Our Nation has perform'd by Sea in the

the later Ages, we might super-add the Gallantry, and brave Adventures of former; since from no obscure Authors we learn, the *Britains* to have accompanied the *Cimbrians* and *Gauls*, in their memorable Expedition into *Greece*, long before the Incarnation of our *Lord*, and whilst they were yet Strangers to the *Roman* World; not to insist on the *Cassiterides*, known to the *Phenicians*, and with so much judgment, vindicated by a Learned Author, in that his excellent and useful *Institution*: In all events, we resort to the greatest Captain, and, without dispute, the purest of Ancient Writers: The Description which *Cesar* makes of the Supplies this Island afforded the *Gauls* (and, which made him think it worth his while to bring-over his Legions hither) will inform us, that the structure of their *Vessels* was not altogether of *Twigs*, and *Oxes-Hides*; And the *Veneti*, it seems, had then a Navy of no less than 200 Sail, built of goodly *Oak*, tall, and so bravely equipped for War, and to endure the Sea, as that great General acknowledg'd the *Romans* themselves had nothing approach'd it: which we mention, because divers

Camdenus;
Strabo, l. 3.

W. Howell In-
stit. Hist. Bar-
charti Conaun,
l. 1. c. 39. &
l. 3. c. 9.

De Bello Gall.
lib. 3.

grave Authors believe the *British* Vessels (sent sometime as Auxiliaries) were thought to be like them: And the slender Experience which the *Gauls* (or, in truth any other Neighbour of theirs) had of the opposite Shoars, when the *Britains* were thus Instructed both for Defence, and Commerce (and, at that time permitted certain Merchants onely to frequent their Coasts) is a fair Præscription, how Early She Intituled her self to the *Dominion* of the Seas; which, if at any time interrupted by barbarous Surprize, or Invasion (as in the Ages following it seem'd to be) yet, neither did That continue any longer, than till the prevalent Force was established, which soon Asserting the Title, as *Lords*, and in Right of *England*, maintain'd her Prærogative from Time immemorial: I know not why therefore, a solitary Writer, or two, should go about to deprive this Nation of more than Twelve hundred Years at Once; because an Heroick Prince has had the Misfortune to have his Mighty Actions reported by some weak, and less-accurate Pens: Yet, such, as the Times wherein they liv'd, could furnish; espe-

especially too, since this has been the Fate of as brave Men, as any whom History has Recorded: But, by this Pretence, some there are, who would take from us, the Renowned *AR. THUR*, who is reported to have led his Squadrons as far as *Ise-Land*, and brought the *Northern* People under his Flag, planting the Confines of the *British*-Ocean, as far as the *Russian* Tracts; and this (together with all the *Northern*, and *Eastern* Isles) to be *Du Jure*, Appendices unto this Kingdom, we may find in the *Leges Edwardi*, confirm'd by the *Norman* Conquerour; for so it had indeed been left to the famous *EDGAR* (to mention onely *Egbert*, *Alsbred*, *Ethelfred*, &c.) Princes, all of them, signally meritorious for their Care of the *Sea*) who soon finding by Experience what Benefit, and Protection his Country receiv'd by the extraordinary Vigilancy on the Coasts; and the Vindicating of his Dominions on the Waters, Cover'd them at Once; with no less than Four thousand Sail; nor, it seems, without Cause (the time consider'd) since we lay so expos'd to a barbarous Enemy. *Alfred* (whom we mention'd) found it so in

See 'APXAI-
ONOMIA,
five, de Prif-
cu Anglorum
Legibus, writ-
ten by Lam-
bard, and Pub-
lish'd by Mrs
Whitlock,

*Nimio multa
extant docu-
menta Britan-
niam esse Domi-
nos, qui essent
Maris. Grot.
Hist. l. 13.*

his daies; a sober, and well-Consulted Prince; and therefore provided himself of the same Expedient against the troublesome *Danes*, whom he not seldom humbled: But, this *MAXIME*, as often as Neglected, did as certainly expose the *Nation* to Prey, and Contempt, as not long after it, to the *Norman* Power, and may so again to a Greater, when through a fatal Supineness, we shall either Remit of our wonted Vigilancy, and due Provisions, or suffer our Up-start Neighbours to Inroach upon us; so True is that saying, *By what means any Thing is Acquir'd, by the same 'tis Preserv'd.* Did this Island wisely Consider the Happiness of not needing many Frontiers to protect her from hourly Alarms, or Inland Fortresses to check the suddain, and rude Incurfions; to which all *Continents* are Obnoxious; she would not think her Bounty to her *Prince* a Burthen; who by maintaining a glorious, and formidable Navy at Sea, not onely renders her Inhabitants secure at Home, without multiplying of Governours, and Guarnisons (which are ever jealous to a Free, and Loyal People) but, unless wanting to themselves, Re-
pairs

pairs their Layings-out, with immense Advantages; and by securing, and Improving that *Trade*, and *Commerce*, which onely can render a Nation flourishing, and, which has hitherto given us the Ascendent over the rest of the World: so True is another *Axiom*, *Qui MARE tenet, eum necesse esse rerum potiri*; but, without which, 'tis in vain to talk of Sovereignty.

*Cic. ad Attic.
l. 10. Ep. 7.*

32. By these Politicks King *John* was enabl'd to pass the Seas into *Ireland* with a Fleet of 500 Sail; Imperiously Commanding whatever *Vessels* they should meet withal about the Eight Circumfluent Seas, to Arrest them, and bring them to understand their Duty: But, our Third *Edward* (to whom the House of *Burgundy* ow'd so much) Equipp'd above a Thousand tall Ships upon another Occasion; with an handful whereof, he defeated a prodigious Navy of the *French*, and *Spaniard*, that were gotten together; and we have seen a perfect, and undoubted List of no fewer than 700 Men of War, which this Prince brought before *Calais*, though he made use of but 200 of them, to vanquish a Fleet consisting of more than double the

Number with the loss of Thirty thousand *French*; which had such an Influence on his Neighbours, that, whereas, till then, there had been some Remissness in the Nation, and a declension of Sea-Affairs; the bravest, and greatest Men in the Land, began greedily to embrace Maritime Employments; and the Title of * *Admiral*, introduc'd in his Prædecessors time, was now held in highest Esteem.

* *Thalassarcha*. See Vossius de *Vitiis Sermonis Lat.* l. 2. It's deriv'd from *Emir*, or *Amir Prefectus* in *Arab*.

33. We mention'd the House of *Burgundy*, and it had reason to Remember us, and our *Wool*, which was the fairest Flower of that *Ducal Coronet*, and as some good *Antiquaries* remark, really gave Institution to their *Golden Fleece*: However it were, this Wise Prince, representing to the *Flemings* their miserable Posture (at that time obnoxious to the *French*, as of late they have likewise been) and, Inhibiting the Importation of Forraign Cloths; the Serene and quiet Condition of this happy Island, invited them over to settle here, erect their Manufactures amongst us, and joyn their Art to our Nature.

34. We pass by the Exploits, and glorious Atchievements perform'd by our Kings against the *Saracens* in the *Holy-War*, which charg'd the Shields of the ancient Nobles, and, of which, all *Asia* resounded: Here, our *Edwards*, *Henries*, and *Richards* did memorable things; in particular, *Richard* the Second took of the *French*, almost an hundred Ships at once, of which some were Vessels of great burthen, richly Fraite: And an Earl of *Arundel* (bearing this Princes Name) beat, took, and destroy'd 226 Ships deep laden with 13000 Tuns of Wine, coming from *La Rochelle*, after an obstinate Encounter, and many brave Exploits: To these we might add, the Gallant Preparations of *Henry* the Fifth, and of several more, had we a design, or any need to accumulate Instances of our Puissance, and Successes at Sea, so thick sown in Forreign, as well as Domestic Histories: But, he that would be Instructed for a more ample Discourse, may take notice of the League made between *Charles* the Great, and our *Mercian Offa* (now more than 700 years since) as he may find it in an Epistle of *Albinus*, or the Learned

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Alcuin ('tis all one) and Consult our Country-men *Walsingham*, *Malmesbury*, and other Writers; where he will see in what high repute this Nation has been, both for its numerous Shipping, and the flourishing Commerce it maintain'd in most known-Parts of the World; and, which we may farther confirm, by the several Authentic Statutes, and Immunities yet extant, not omitting the *Policy of Keeping the Sea*, facetiously, yet solidly, set forth in the good *Old Prologue*, intituled, *The Process of the Libel*, written more than 200 years past, not unworthy our deepest reflexions: And verily, it were a madness in us to neglect the Care of those Causes, from whence (as by a *Series* of them will yet appear) the Effects of all our Temporal Blessings spring, and, by Vertue whereof, they can only be maintain'd.

35. *Henry the Seventh*, and his Magnificent Successor, were both of them powerful at Sea; though the too weak-Faith of the former, depriv'd him of the most glorious Accession, that was ever offer'd to Mortal-man: This, he endeavour'd to have repair'd, by the famous *Cabot*, whom he afterwards

wards employ'd to seek Adventures; and, though the Success were not equal, it was yet highly laudable, and (as we have shew'd) not altogether without Fruit.

36. *Henry the Eighth* his Son, had divers Conflicts with the *French*, † Tri-
umphant sometimes in Sails of Cloth-of-
Gold, and Cordage of Silk: But, that
which indeed repair'd the Remisness
of the One, and Profusion of the Other,
and gave a Demonstration of how ab-
solute concern, Traffic, and Strength at
Sea are to this Island, was the Care
which Queen *ELIZABETH* took,
when by her Address alone, she not
only secur'd her Kingdoms from the
formidable Power of *Spain*; but,
Reap'd the Harvest too, of that Opu-
lent Monarch, and brought his *Indies*
into her own Exchequer; whilst that
Mighty Prince, had only the trouble
to Conquer the New-World, and pre-
pare the Treasure for her: And this
she did, by her Influence on *Naviga-*
tion, and by the Courage and Conduct
of those renowned *Heroes*, who made
her Reign so famous.

† Lord Cher-
bery Mss.
Hen. 8.

See also that
rare piece of
Hans Hol-
bein's in his
Majesties Gal-
lery at White-
Hall.

37: This

1588.

Annal. l. 5.

37. This glorious *Princess* had 130 Sail of fair Ships, when she sent over for the Island Voyages, of which 60 were stout men of War; and with these (besides many other Exploits) she defended *HOLLAND*, defied *Parma*, and aw'd the whole Power of *Spain*: With an handful of these (comparatively) she defeated the Invincible *Armada* in *LXXXVIII*, Encounter'd, and took *Gallions*, and other Vessels of prodigious strength and bulk; and, what havock was made at *Gales*, by yet a smaller number, her Enemies to this day feel: *Grotius*, speaking of this Action, tells us, that the Wealth gotten there by the Earl of *Essex*, was never any where parallel'd with the like Naval Success; and, that if these beginnings had been pursu'd (as with ease they might, had the brave Mans Counsel been follow'd) it had prov'd one of the most glorious Enterprises that History has recorded: However, besides the immense Spoil, and Treasure they took, and the Marks they left of their Fortitude (to the loss of 1200 Great-Guns of the Enemies, irreparable in those daies) the *Spaniard* was not so redoubted Abroad, as they left him miserably

miserably weakn'd at Home: To these, we may number the *Trophies* won by particular Adventurers: Sir *Francis Drake*, having with four Ships onely, taken from the *Spaniard* a Million, and 189200 *Ducats* in one Expedition, Anno 1587, in a single bottom 25000 *Pezos* of the most refined Gold; and after, with a Squadron of Five and twenty Sail, terrifying the whole Ocean, he sack'd *St. Jago, Domingo, and Cartagena* (as before mention'd) and, carried away with him, besides other incredible Booty, 240 Pieces of Artillery, which was a prodigious Spoil in those early daies, and, when those Instruments of Destruction were not in such plenty as now they are. What shall we say of *John Oxenham*, one of the *Argonauts* with *Drake*? who, in a slender Bark, near *Nombre de Dios* (having drawn-up his Vessel to Land, and cover'd it with a few boughs) marched with his small Crue over unknown paths, till arriv'd at a certain River, and there building a *Pinnace*, with the Timber which they fell'd upon the Spot, he boldly launches into the *South-Sea*, and, at the Island of *Pearls*, took from the *Spaniard* 60000*l.* weight of Massie-

Massie-Gold, and 200000 in Silver ! though lost in his Return with it, by the perfidy of his Associates ; such an Exploit is hardly to be parallel'd in any story. Sir *Richard Grinwill*, in another Voyage to *Cadix*, with but 180 Souldiers (of which 90 were sick and useless) in the Ship *Revenge*, maintain'd a Conflict for 24 hours, against 50 *Spanish Gallions*, and slew above 7000 Men, sinking four of their best Vessels : Than this, what have we more—— ! What, can be greater ! In sum, so universal was the Reputation of our Country-men in those daies, for their strenuous Exploits at Sea ; That even Those who took all Occasions to depress, and extenuate them, are forc'd *here* to Acknowledge, and that from the Pen of an Author whose Word goes far, * *That the Greeks and Romans, who of Old, made good all their mighty Actions by Naval Victories, were at this time, equal'd by the Fortitude and Courage of the English.*

* Graiorum,
Romanorum
que gloria, qui
res olim suas
Navales per
acris afferue-
runt, non dubie
tunc Anglo-
rum & fortu-
na, & Virtus
respondit.

Grot. Hist. l. 1.

38. 'Twas in Her daies, they discover'd far into the *North-East*, and *North-West*, *Cathaian*, and *China* Passages, by the indefatigable diligence of *Willoughby*, *Burroughs*, *Chancellor*, *Button*, *Euffin*,

Buffin, Furbisher, James, Middleton, Gilbert, Cumberland, and others, worthy to be consign'd to Fame: In her Brothers the Sixt *Edwards* Reign, the formerly-mention'd *Chabot*, had six times attempted the North-West Tracts to the *Indies*; and, long before these, a bold Prince of Ours, essay'd to pass the *Moluccos* by the same Course; entred the streights of *Anian*, and is, by some, intituled to the first Discovery of the *Canaries*. The *Summer-Islands*, and the goodly Continent of *Virginia*, were first detected, and then Planted by the *English*; among whom we may not pass by the Industry of Captain *Jones, Smith*, and other late Adventurers, whose great Exploits (as *Romantic* as they appear) were the steady effects of their Courage and good Fortune: We have said yet nothing of *Pool*, who began the *Whale-fishing*, nor of Captain *Bennet*, who discover'd *Cherry-Island*: *Pet*, and *Jack-man* that pass'd the *Vaigates, Scythian Iles*, and the River *Ob*, as far as *Nova Zembla*: Of *John Davis*, who had penetrated to 86 degrees of Latitude, and almost set his foot upon the *Northern-Pole*: Here let us also remember
Captain

Captain *Gillan*, to the lasting honour of his Highness, Prince *Rupert*, and the rest of those Illustrious Adventurers; nor forget to celebrate the Heroic Inclination of his Sacred MAJESTY, our Great CHARLES, under whose *Auspices*, Sir *John Norborough* has lately Pass'd, and Re-pass'd the *Magellan* Streight; by which that Modest, and Industrious Man, has not onely performed what was never done before; but has also made way for a Prospect of immense Improvement. Finally,

39. It was Queen *Elizabeth* who began, and establish'd the Trade of *Muscovy*, *Turky*, *Barbary*, and even that of the *East-Indies* too, however of late Interrupted by ungrateful Neighbours: Nor less was she vigilant at *Land*, than at *Sea*; Mustering at once no fewer than One hundred and twenty Thousand fighting-Men of her own Vassals, not by uncertain Computation; but, effectually fit for War: And indeed, but for the extraordinary Vertue of this brave *Virago*, not *England* alone, but even *France* and *Holland* had truckl'd under the weight of *Spain*, whose Ambition was then upon its highest

highest Pinnacle: In one word, *Navigation* and *Commerce* were in her days in so prosperous a Condition, that they seem to have ever since subsisted but upon the Reputation of it; and the success of our Country-men in their Attempts at Sea was so far Superior to other Nations, as by the suffrage of the most Learned Strangers (and to shew it was universal) they could not but acknowledge, *Omnibus bodie Gentibus Navigandi industria, & Reckermani peritia, Superiores esse Anglos, & post Anglos, Hollandos*; for we do not fear to give even our greatest Enemies their Dues, when they deserve it.

40. We now arrive to King *JAMES*, and *CHARLES* the First (Princes of immortal Memory) And for the former; there was in his time built (besides many others) those two gallant Ships, *The Trades-Increase*, and the *Prince*; The one for encouragement of *Commerce*, and the other a *Man of War*; And, though upon different Accounts, and at different times, they both unhappily miscarried; yet, they serv'd to testifie, that neither *Defense*, nor *Trade* were neglected; since, as to that of the first, Sir *Walter Raleigh* doubts not

to affirm; That the *Shipping* of this Nation, with a Squadron of the *Navy-Royal*, was in this Princes time, able, in despite of *Europe*, to Command the Ocean, much more, to bring the *Nether-Lands* to due Obedience: But, says he, as I shall never think him a lover of his Country, or Prince, who shall perswade His Majesty from Cultivating their Amity; so would I counsel Them to remember, and consider it: That seeing their Inter-course lies so much through the *British-Seas*, that there is no part of *France*, from *Calais* to *Flushing*, capable of succouring them; that, frequently, Out-wards by Western-Winds, and ordinarily, Home-wards, both from the *Indies*, *Straites*, and *Spain*, all Southerly-Winds (the Breezes of our Climate) thrust them of necessity into His Majesties Harbours; how much his Majesties favour does import them: For, if (as themselves confess) they subsist by *Commerce* onely; the disturbance of That (and, which *England* alone can disturb) will also disturb their Subsistence: I omit the rest: Because I can never doubt either their Gratitude, or their Prudence. But, this
brave

brave Man was it seems, no Prophet, to fore see how soon they would forget themselves: They began in his days to be hardly warm in comparison, and indeed it is not (as observes the same Person) much beyond a Century, that either the *French*, *Spanish*, or *Hollander*, had any proper Fleets belonging to them as Kingdoms, or States; the *Venetians*, *Genoezes* and *Portugals*, being then (as we have noted) the only Competitors both for Strength, and Traffick; the *Dutch* litt'e Considerable; since within these fifty years, the *Spanish* and *Portugals* employ'd many more Ships at Sea than the *Hollander* (their Fishing-Busses excepted) who, 'til furnish'd with our Artillery, were very Contemptible, as might be made out by undeniable Evidence: Insomuch that the formerly mention'd *Raleigh* affirms, One Lusty Ship of his Majesties, would have made forty *Hollanders* Strike Sail, and come to an Anchor: They did not then (says he) dispute *de Mari Libero*. But will you know in a word from him, what it was that has exalted them to this monstrous Pitch? It was, the employing their own People in the Fishery upon our Coasts; by which they infinite-

ly Inrich'd themselves ; 2. Their Entertaining of Auxilliaries in their difficult Land-Services; by which they preserv'd their own Vassals ; 3. The Fidelity of the House of *Nassaw* ; from which they had a wife, and experienc'd General : 4. The frequent Excursions of the Duke of *Parma* into *France*, hindring the Prosecution of his growing Successes : 5. The Imbargo of their Ships in *Spain*, and interdicting them Free-Trade with that Nation, which first set them upon their *Indian* Adventures : 6. And, above All, the Kindness of Queen *Elizabeth* : But, the Case is (it seems) much alter'd since that worthy Knight made his Observations and took his Leave of the Prince of *Orange* at *Antwerp* ; When (after *Leicesters* return) he pray'd him to say to her Majesty, *Sub Umbra Alarum tuarum Protegimur* ; for that they had wither'd in the End, without her Assistance.

41. We have yet but only mention'd the Inherent Right of the Crown of *England* to the *Dominion* of the *Seas* ; because the Legality and the Reason of it have been Asserted by so many able and famous Pens, from which we learn, that it doth of Justice appertain to the Kings

Kings of Great Britain, not only as far Seldenus;

as Protection extends (though there were no other Argument to favour us)

but, of sacred, and immemorial Royalty: But, 'tis Pretended by those great

Names, who have of late disputed this Subject, and endeavoured to Depose

our Princes of this Empire *Jure Natura & Gentium*: That the Sea is *Fluxile*

Elementum, & quod nunquam idem possideri non posse; That 'tis always in Suc-

cession, and, that one can never Anchor on the same Billow; That Water

is as Free as the Air; and that the Sea terminates Empires which have no Bounds;

and therefore, that no Empire can terminate that which acknowledges none;

and, though all this were nothing; That his Majesties Father, had tamely lost it

to the late Usurpers, which is an insolent scoff of *Marisotus's*, triumphing

over a fetter'd Lion; Whilst for all this, to patch up a wretched Pretence, he

descends to take hold of a certain Obsolete, and Fœudatarie Complement,

sometime since passing between the two Kings; as if a Ceremonious Acknowledg-

ment for a Province or two in *France* (which is an usual deference among Prin-

ces upon certain Tenures) gave sufficient

*Grotius. Mari-
setus. Clivac.
Jf. Pontanus,
Palatius, &c.*

Orbis Maris.

Mela.

Title, and Investiture to All that the Kings of *England* possess in the World besides. But in this sort do the Partizans of aspiring Monarchs manage their egregious Flatteries. Whilst to silence all the World, we can shew it Prescription so far beyond the present Race of Kings, that even the Name of their *PHARAMOND* was not known, when our *EMPIRE* on the *SEA* set Limits to the Coasts of *Gauls*, and said, *Hitherto shall ye Come*—— Nor, to that alone, but even as far as *Spain* it self: For, what pretence could those Princes have to this Dominion, whose very Monarchy is but of Yesterday, in respect to the goodly extent, which now they call *France*? and especially when the only Maritime Provinces were shread into so many Fragments and Cantons, under their petty Princes; for so were *Narbon*, *Bretayne*, *Aquitaine* and even *Normandy* it self (portions belonging then to our Kings) nor had they 'till of later days, so much as the Office of Admiral belonging to the Sea, that is, till their Expedition into the *Holy-Land*, when yet they were fain to make use of the *Genoezes* to transport them as we have it confess'd by their own Authors.

Jo. Tillius de
Reb. Gal. L.2.

Authors. As to their other Arguments, we need not spend much breath to dilute those pittiful Cavels of the Instability, and Fluctuation of the Waves &c. which could not be there, without a Channel and a Bottom to contain them, as if we contended for the Drops of the Sea, and not for its situation, and the Bed of those Waters; and since Rivers and Streams have the same Reason on their side to exempt them from being in Common, and at every mans disposeure.

And these things I have only touch'd, to repress the pruriency of some late Flatterers, who not only injure a Truth as resplendent as the Sun; but the Justice of a great Prince, whom by these false Colours, they would provoke to unrighteous disputes; whilst we pretend to nothing but what carries with it, the strongest Evidi on, a thing of this nature is capable of.

42. Needless it wou'd be to amuse the Reader with recounting to him at large, how in the ancient Division of things, the Sea, having here assign'd over with the Land, there sprung up from the same Original, a *Private Dominion*; but undoubtedly, when God gave to Man the Sovereignty of the Ocean, by

intitling him to the Fish, which were produc'd in the bowels of it (that is, to the *Thing it self*, by its Use, and Enjoyment) by the same Grant, he pass'd over to him, and consign'd to his disposeure, the distribution of it, and introduction of a separate, and peculiar Jurisdiction: There is nothing more perspicuous in our Case, and as to his Majesties Claim (the Reasons for it rightly consider'd) from so many Royal Predecessours, and so long a tract of years, who for security of Navigation, and Commerce between their Neighbours and Allies, were at such vast expences, to Equip, and set forth Great Ships, and Navies; and that, upon the intreaty, and solicitation of those, who recurr'd to their protection; and might themselves justifie the prescribing Rules and Boundaries to such as should pass the Seas, and receive such Recognitions, and Emoluments, as were peculiar, and within their Circle, both for their Honour, and Maintenance.

The deduction shall be very short, considering how vast an Ocean of matter lies before us; but it shall be full.

summoning the *Gallie* Merchants to inform him of the shores, and situation of our Ports, could it seems learn nothing from them; for, says he, not a man of them frequented that Rivage without licence; and when *Claudius* had subdu'd the more Southern parts of the Nation, the *British Sea*, following the fate of the whole Island, came with the same privileges to be annex'd to the Empire, and did never loose them, through all the Revolutions which happen'd; but that as soon as the prevalent power came to be settl'd, they immediately asserted their Dominion on the Sea. That of very wide extent this Nation had peculiars of its own, the Confirmation of the *Calidonians* evince; Tacit. in Vit. Agric. when in the time of *Domitian*, *Agricola* sailing round the Island, they were in such perplexity to see him in their Chambers, for so they called those Northern Streams. But not longer to insist on these early beginnings, and what the *Romans* did; when the frame of that Empire was chang'd, about the time of the Great *Constantine*, the *Comites* of the *Saxon* shore (substitutes to him who commanded the West) had their Jurisdiction over all the Sea, from

G 4

the

Notitia Imp. Occid.

the Borders of that Shoar, and West part of *Denmark*, to the Western *Gallia*, all along the other side.

44. There are who put some stress here, upon ancient Inscriptions, especially that mention'd by *Greuter*, of a *Præfect* of a *British* Fleet; and on the Ornaments, and Ensigns of Dominion, found in several *Medals*, and Antiquities to be met withal in the Collections of learned men; vindicating the peculiar we contend for, and continu'd from *Edward* the Third in several fair stamps, nor are they to be rejected: It suffices us, that whatever the Government were, still the dominion of the Sea return'd with that of the land

Zozimus l. 6
An. 43c. See
Claud. in Laud.
Stilis l. 2.

to the Nation; as when the *Britains* rejected the *Roman* Yoak, which how extended, when it came under the power of the *Englisch* *Saxon* Kings, and *Danes*, is known to all the World, as well as with what mighty Navies, *Edgar*, *Cannutus* and others, asserted, and protected it, under no lower Style, than that of *King*, *Supream Lord and Governour* of the *Ocean*, Lying round about *Britain*; for so runs the settlement of certain Revenues, given by King *Edgar*, to the *Cathedral* of *Worcester*, says Mr. *Selden*.

45. Since

45. Since the *Norman* Conquest, the Government of the several Provinces, or *Sheriffs*, exercised Jurisdiction on the Sea, as far as their Countys extended. *Henry* the *Third* constituted Captain Guardians; and our First *Edward* distributed this Guard to three Admirals; so did the second of that name; and the form of our ancient Commissions to the several Admiralties, mention the dominion of our Kings upon the Sea; nor did any other Nation whatsoever Contest it, as having little, or nothing on the opposite Shoars; whilst 'tis evident, the *English* Monarchs possess'd their Right in its intire Latitude, for more than a thousand Years, under one intire Empire, and an un-interrupted enjoyment of the Sea, as an appendant.

46. To this we might add the *Pass-Ports* sued for by Forreigners from the Reign of *Henry* the *Fourth*, and so down to *Queen Elizabeth*, who during her War with *Spain* sometimes gave leave to the *Swedes*, *Danes*, and *Ansiatic* Towns, and sometimes prohibited them, Petitioning for Passes, to sail through her Seas; nay, more, she caus'd to be taken, and brought into her Harbours, Laden-

Laden-ships of those Nations transgressing her Orders; as far as the Streights of *Lisbon*, which she cou'd never have justify'd, had she not been acknowledged *Sovereign* of the Seas, through which they were to pass: And though her Successour King *James*, appointed certain limits on the *English* Coast, by imaginary lines drawn from point to point, round the Island, in which he sometimes extended them far into the Sea; it was not to Circumscribe a Jurisdiction (a thing which he most industriously caution'd his *Ministers* never to yield, so much as in discourse) beyond which he did not pretend; but in relation only to Acts of Hostility, between the two great Antagonists, the *Spaniard* and the *Hollander*, declaring himself both Lord, and Moderator of the *British* Seas from his Royal Predecessors.

Rot. pat. 2.
Jac. part 32.

Rot. Scot. 10:
Ed. Membran.
16.

47. In several Commissions given to Sea Commanders, by *Edward the Third*, the words are, Our Progenitors, the Kings of *England*, have before these times, been Lords of the *British* Seas on every side; and in a certain Bill, prefer'd in Parliament to the same Prince, 'tis said, That the *English* were ever

Rot. pat. 46.
Ed. 3. *N.* 2.

ever in the Ages past so renown'd for Navies, and Sea-Affairs; that the Countries about them, usually esteem'd, and call'd them Sovereigns of the Sea; And from the same *Parliamentary* testimony in the Reign of *Henry the Fifth* we learn, that the Estates in that august Assembly, did with one Consent affirm it as a thing unquestionable, That the Kings of *England* were Lords of the Sea, and that *That* Sea was all which flow'd between the stream on both sides, and made no doubt, but a Tribute might be impos'd, by Authority of Parliament upon all Strangers passing through them, as we shall find *Richard the Second* to have done long before.

*Rot. par. 8.
Hins. 5. Mem.
3. Art. 6.*

48. In the Reign of *Edward the Second*, *Robert* Earl of *Flanders*, complaining of Injuries done his Subjects at Sea, alledges, that the King of *England* is bound in Right to do him Justice, for that he was Lord of the Sea: But there cannot in the World be a more pregnant Instance for the vindication of this dominion, and the silencing all Objections, than the famous complaint against the *Genoeze Grimbaldi*, who during the War between the *French* and those of *Flanders*, infesting the Seas, and

*Rot. par. 14.
Ed. 2. p. 2. M.
26. in dorso.*

and disturbing Commerce, occasion'd all the Nations of *Europe*, bordering on the Sea, to have recourse, and appeal to the Kings of *England*; whom from time to time, and by Right immemorial, they acknowledged to be in peaceable possession of the Sovereign Lordship and dominion of the Seas of *England*, and Islands of the same; This Libel, or Complaint was exhibited in the time of *Edward the First*, almost three hundred years since, and is still extant in the *Archives* of the Tower.

49. And thus we have seen how the Sea is not only a distinct province, Capable of Propriety, Limits, and other just Circumstances of Peculiar Dominion, as a Bound, not Bounding his Majesties Empire, but as bounded by it in another respect; and that this was never violated so much as by *Syllogism*, 'till some Mercenary pens were set on work against *Spain*, through whose tender sides, at that time, and with great artifice, the *Barneveldt* faction endeavour'd to transfix us; Soon it was perceiv'd, and as soon encounter'd; in the mean time, that one would smile to find their mighty Champion then fairly acknowledge upon another Occasion, and when

1509. Treaty
with *Spain*,
concerning
Trade to the
Indies.

when it seems he resolv'd to speak out.

Anglia Regina Oceani Imperium---That Grot. Annal. l. 2. 1570. the Queen of *England*, was *Dominatrix*

of the Sea---So great is the Truth, and will prevail: In a word, if the *premier*

Occupant, be a legal and just plea to the Right of other possessions, the Kings

and Queens of *England*, descending from, or succeeding to them who first asserted

the Title, are still invested with it; sure we are, this Argument was held

good, and illustrated by the First, and best foundation of Empire, when the

State of *Venice* (claiming the *Adriatic* by no other) held that famous Contro-

versie with *Ferdinand* of *Friuli* by their Advocate *Rapicio* and *Chizzola*, Com-

missioners being mutually chosen to determine it; and how far Antiquity is

on our side, The *Greeks*, *Romans*, *Tyrians*, *Phœnicians*, and others have abund-

antly declar'd, and with what caution they interdicted Strangers here with us,

till the *Claudian* Expedition annex'd it, with the dominion of all *Britain*, to

that Glorious Empire; which to protect against the Piratical *Saxons* (then

not seldom infesting our Coasts) the *Comites Maritimi Tractus* were by the

Præfect establish'd, as we have already shew'd :

shew'd: And so it continu'd for near five hundred years after, when the *Saxons* taking greater advantage of the *Roman* remissness (distracted as they grew by intestine troubles) made their descents upon us, and with the fortune of Conquest, carried that likewise of the Sea.

50. We have but mention'd King *Edgar*, whose survey is so famous in Story, when with more than four thousand Vessels, he destin'd a *Quaternion* to every Sea, which annually circl'd this Isle, and as a Monument of their submission, was sometime Row'd in his royal Gally by the hands of Eight Kings. This Signal Action becoming the Reverse of a *Medail*, was by a like device illustrated in the *Rose-Noble*, in which we have represented the figure of a King invested with his *Regalia*, standing in the middle of a Ship, as in his proper, and most resplendent Throne; for the same reason likewise (as some interpret) did *Henry the Eighth*, add the *Portuluse* to his current Mony, as a Character of his peculiar Title to this *Dition*, exclusive to all others.

51. We have spoken of the *Danes*, and *Normans*, and their successive claim,
and

and of the *Custodes Maritimi*, more antient than that of Admiral, as now constituted, which indeed began with the *Edwards*, when the *French*, at war with *Flanders*, but pretending to usurp that dignity, were fain to abolish their new office, and acknowledging they had no Right, pay the damages of the depredations they made, as appears by that famous Record in the Tower, mention'd by Sir *John Burroughs* in which the Title of our Kings is asserted from immemorial prescription; nay, when at this time, he had not all the opposite Shoar to friend.

52. The Constitution of our *Cinque-Ports* give another noble Testimony to this Claim, and the addition of two more Admirals by our *Third Edward*, guarding as many Seas, as there were Superiour Officers of this denomination, not omitting the Title of *Lords of both Shoars*, anciently us'd from hence to *Henry the Fifth*; nay, when *Edward* renounc'd his Claim to *Normandy* (as at the Treaty of *Charters*) the *French* themselves acknowledg'd this Right, and therefore neither *here*, nor at the Court of *Delegates* in *France*, did they claim any pretence to the *Islands*,

lands, or Interfluent Seas. But what need we a more pregnant Instance, than that Universal deference to the Laws of *OLERON* (an Island of *Aquitania* then belonging to this Crown) published after the *Rhodan* had been long Antiquated, which obtain'd over all the Christian World. And to this we might add the *Dane-Gelt* (in plain *Englsh*, a Ship-mony Tax) impos'd as well on Strangers as Denisons that practis'd Commerce upon our Coasts and Seas East and North, where the great *Interkursus* was; nor expir'd it here, but continu'd Customary, as appears by innumerable Records, for enabling the King to protect the Seas, and to Obstruct, or Open them as he saw convenient, with Title to all Royal Fishes, Wracks, and Goods found floating in *Alto-mari*, as we can prove by several Commissions, and Instruments, and confirm by precedents, not of our *Municipal* constitutions alone, but, such as have been binding, and accepted for such, of the Nations about us; Witness that famous Accord made between our *Edward the First*, and the *French King Phillip the Fair*, calling him to account for the piracies we have mention'd. And

To this we might produce the spontaneous submission of the *Flemings* in open Parliament, in *Edward the Second's* Reign, and the *Honour*, or rather *Duty* of the *Flag*, which King *John* with his Peers, had many Ages since, chal'eng'd, upon the Custom ordain'd at *Hastings*, decreed to take place universally, not barely as a Civility, but as a Right of importance for the making out, and confirmation of our Title to the Dominion we have been vindicating; And that this has been claim'd and pay'd *Cum debitâ Reverentiâ* (to use the express words of those old Commissions, which had been long since given by *William* and *Maurice* Princes of *Orange*) to all the Sea Commanders in those days; we have for almost this whole later *Century*, seen the matter of fact testified not only by continual Claims, Orders, Commissions and Instructions; but by searching divers authentick Journa's, which have noted the particulars in a thousand Instances: Nor has this been paid to whole Fleets only, bearing the Royal Pavillion; but to single Vessels, and those of the smaller Craft (as they are stil'd) wearing his Majesties Cognizance, to whom this homage has been

1200

*M. S. Commen.
de Rebus Ad-
mir. fol. 28.*

H done,

O. C. 1672.
See his Letter
of 23. Septem.
to the Ambass.
at London.

done, even by the greatest Navies, meeting them in any of the *British* Seas in their utmost Latitudes. Nor has this been so much as question'd, till that arch Rebel for ends of his own, would once have betray'd it; and that the late *Demagogue De Witt*, with no less insolence, would have perverted his Countrymen, by entering into an injurious disquisition in justification of the Wrong he would have made us swallow; but his Majesty was not so to be Hectored out of his Right as appears by the honourable provision he has made to secure it, in the late Treaty with the *Dutch*; and what all the World has paid us, which puts it out of dispute: In the mean time it was necessary, and no way improper to the Scope of this Treatise, that after what has been so newly pretended, to the prejudice of the Title we have asserted; something should be said to abate the Confidence of impertinent Men, and to let the World know, that our Princes (to whom God, and Nature has imparted such prerogatives) will not be baffl'd out of them, by the sentences, and Sophisms of Lawyers, much less by Sycophants, and such as carry not the least shadow of reason: But it would
fill

fill many Volumes to exemplifie the Forms of our ancient Commissions from time to time, Investing our Admirals, with the Exercise of this Sovereign Power ; as well as that of safe Conduits, Writts of Seizure, and Arrests ; the Copies of Grants, and Permission to Fish (of which in the next period) obtain'd of our Kings, by Petition &c. to be found at large in our Books, Parliament Rolls, and other Authentick Pieces too long for this Tract : But, if any will be contentious, because they are some of them of ancient Date, we have, and shall yet shew Instances sufficient, and *Ex abundanti* for this last age, to which our *Antagonists* have from time to time submitted, not only in the wide, and ample Sea, or at our own Coasts, but in the very Ports, and Harbours of Strangers, where they looked for Protection ; that all the World may blush at the weak and unreasonable Conventions, which would invalidate this Claim, if at least there be in the World any such thing as Right, Prescription, Deference, or other Evidence, which amongst sober men, is agreed to be LAW, for the Clearing of a Title. To Sum up all then, If Right of Prescrip-

tion, succession of Inheritance, Continual Claim, Matter of Fact, Consent of History, and Confessions even from the mouths, and pens of Adversaries, be of any moment to the gaining of a Cause; We may bespeak our Nation, as he did King *James* upon another Occasion, and as justly transfer it to his glorious Successor—*Quis dat jura Mari &c.*

Grot. Syva. l. 2.

And with this I should conclude, did not the Fishery, which is another irrefragable Proof of his Majesties Dominion, require a little Survey, before we shut up this discourse.

Eliz. & Elizabeth.

54. How far this Royal Jurisdiction has extended, may best be gather'd out of the Reverend *Camden*, speaking of King *James* the Sixth of Scotland, and of Queen *Elizabeth* of England; who first discovering the *Whale-Fishing*, had consequently, Title to those Seas, as far as *Green-land* Northward; and what it was to the South, the Proclamation of our *Third Edward* (yet extant) abundantly makes appear: This, confirm'd by the *Fourth* of that Name, Guards, and Convoys, were appointed to preserve the Rights inviolable; as was likewise continued by the Three succeeding *Henrys*

Henrys, Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh, and their descendents, who impos'd a certain Tribute upon all Forreiners, in Recognition of their Indulgence to them. Witness the *French*, the Dukes of *Britain*, of *Burgundy* (especially *Phillip*) and those of *Flanders*, who never presum'd to cast a Net without Permission, and a formal Instrument first obtained, the Originals whereof, are yet to be seen, and may be collected out of both the *French*, and *Burgundian* stories; and, as it doth indeed to this day appear by his Majesties neighbourly Civility, granted to the *French* King for the Provision of his own Table, and to the Town of *Bruges* in *Flanders*, by a late Concession; the number and size of Boats, and other Circumstances being limited, upon transgression whereof, the offenders have been Imprison'd, and otherwise mulcted.

1489.

*Rot. Franc. 38.
Membr. 9. &
14. Hen. 6.*

55. And, as the *French*, so the *Spaniard* did always sue to our Princes for the like priviledg and kindness: King *Phillip* the *Second* (as nearly related as he was to *Queen Mary* his Wife) finding a Prov. so in an Act of Parliament, that no Forreiner should fish in those Seas without permission, paid into the

*Stat. Hil. Ed.
4. Cap. 6. 1 Jac.
cub. Præclam.
6. Mar.*

Exchequer no less than an annual rent of one thousand pounds, for leave to fish upon the North of *Ireland* for the supply of his dominions in *Flanders*: Now for the *Dutch*.

1295. 56. That famous Record *Pro Homi-*
nibus Hollandiæ (so the Title runs)

points to us as far as our First *Edward*, not only how obsequious then they were in Acknowledging the Kings Dominion on the Sea, but his Protection, and permission to Fish on the environs of it; And his Successor *Edward* the Third, as he gave leave to the Counts of

Rot. pat. 23.
Ed. 1. Memb. 5.

Holland (who always petition'd for it) so he prescribed Laws, and Orders concerning the Burden of the Vessels to be employ'd about it: The like did *Henry* the Sixth to the *French*, and others; with the Season, Place, and Method to

Rot. pat. 22.
Ed. 4. Mem. 2.

be observ'd, which are all of main importance in the Cause: And this was so religiously inspected in former times, that *Edward* the Fourth, constituted a *Triumvirat* power to guard both the Seas, and the Fishery against all Pretenders whatsoever, as had *Richard* the Second long before him, who impos'd a Tribute on every individual Ship that pass'd through the Northern Admiralty,

miralty, for the maintenance of that Sea-Guard, amounting to six pence a Tun, upon every Fishing Vessel weekly, as appears by a most authentick Record, and the Opinion of the most eminent Judges, at that early day; who upon consideration, that none but a Sovereign power could impose such a payment, gave it in as their opinion, that this Right and Dominion, was a branch of the royal Patrimony, and inseparable: Nay, that wise Prince *Henry the Seventh*, thought it so infinitely considerable, that (upon deeply weighing the great Advantages) he was setting up a Trade, or Staple of Fish, in preference (say some) to that of Wool itself, and all other Commerce of his Dominions; which being long before the *Low-Countries* had a Name for Merchants, they had still perhaps, neglected, if some *Renegado's* of our own (*Violet*, and *Stephens* by Name) had not encourag'd the *Dutch* of *Enchusen* (with other Malcontented Persons of the Craft, deserting their Country, and their Loyalty) to molest his Majesties Streams, upon the account of these Men; since which, They, and Others, have continu'd their Presumptions even to Insolence:

57. Neither was less the Care of
 1606. King *James*, to vindicate this incomparable prerogative, than any of his vigilant Predecessors, who, having deriv'd that accession of the *Shetland*
 1458. Islands by marriage with a Daughter of *Denmark*, publish'd his Proclamations immediately after his coming into *England*: For it must be acknowledg'd, that Queen *Elizabeth* did not so nicely and warily look after this jealous Article, as had been wish'd; diverted by her extraordinary Pitty, and abundant Indulgence to the distressed States. But, this Prince roundly asserts his Patrimony, upon many prudent Reasons of state, and especially, for encouragement of the Maritime Towns, fallen much to decay, and plainly succumbing under the injurious dealing of such as took the Fish from before their dores; and renew'd his Commands, that none should for the future, presume so much as to hover about, much less abide on our Coasts, without Permission first obtain'd under the Great Seal of *England*, and upon which the *Hollanders* petition'd for Leave, and Acknowledg'd the Limits appointed them, as formerly they had done: Let us hear the Historian describe it and blush.

See Copy of a
 Letter in Sir
 Rob. Cotton's
 Library, and
 the Credentials
 given to
 Sir Hen. Wotton.

The

“The *Hollanders* (says he) taking in- Camden in Br.
 “finite plenty of *Herring* upon this
 “Coast, and thereby making a most
 “gainful Trade, were first to procure
 “leave (by ancient Custom) out of
 “*Scarborow-Castle*; for the *English* per-
 “mit them to Fish; reserving indeed
 “the Honour to themselves, but, *Re-*
 “*signing the Benefit* to Strangers, to
 “their incredible Inriching &c. What
 could be said more to our purpose, or
 to our Reproach? This was that which
 King *James* endeavour’d to bring into
 a better method, when taking notice of
 the daily incroachment of our Neigh-
 bours, he enjoyn’d his Ambassador
 (who was then Sir *Dudley Carleton*) to
 1618.
 Expostulate it with the States, as may
 be seen in that sharp Letter of Mr. *Se-*
cretaries: Dated the twenty first of
December 1618, in which he tells them,
 “That unless they sought leave from his
 “Majesty, and acknowledg his Right,
 “as other Princes had done, and did;
 “it might well come to pass, that they
 “who would needs bear all the World
 “before them by their *Mare Liberum*,
 “might soon endanger their having nei-
 “ther *Terram, Nec Solum, Nec Rempub-*
 “*licam Liberam*: I do only recite the
 Passage

Passage as I find it publish'd, and take notice how Prophetick it had lately like to have been.

*Seldenus l. 2.
c. 22.*

1639.

58. This happy Prince taking umbrage at the War between the *Hollander* and the *Spaniard*, did fix Limits by Commission, and Survey, nearer than which (though as Moderator, he offer'd equal Protection to both) no Enemy to another State, might commit any hostile Act, and producing his Reasons for it, asserted his Right so to do; not as if those Boundaries circumscrib'd his dominions, but, as being sufficient for the vindication of his due in that great Article. And their not observing this, incited King *Charles* the *First* of Blessed memory, to Animadvert upon it, when in the year 1639, our good friends behaved themselves with so little respect, in that memorable Conflict with the *Spaniard*; and when approaching too near our Shoars, they were check'd for their Irreverence in his Majesties Imperial Chambers; Indeed, for the *First* (but seeming) Affront, that this Nation did ever receive upon it.

59. And now it will not be amiss, nor inconsistent with our Title, to let the World see, the immense advantages
of

of the Trade which has been driven upon the sole account of the Fishery; by the prodigious emolument which it has (to our cost and reproach) afforded our more industrious Neighbours, the foundation of whose Greatness has been laid in the bottom of our Seas; which has yielded them more Treasure than the Mines of *Potosi*, or both *Indies* to *Spain*.

Who would believe that this People raise yearly by the *Herring*, and other fisheries, a Million of pound Sterling, and that *Holland*, and *Zealand* alone (whose utmost Verge doth hardly exceed many *English* Shires) should from a few despicable Boats, be able to set forth above Twenty thousand Vessels of all Sorts, fit for the rude Seas, and of which more than 7000, are yearly employ'd upon this Occasion? 'Tis evident, that by this particular Trade, they are able to breed above forty thousand Fisher-men, and one hundred and sixteen thousand Mariners (as the *Census* has been accurately calculated) and the gain of it is so universal, that there's hardly a Beggar in their Country, nor an hand, which doth not earn it's bread: This is Literally true, and the

the Consideration of it seem'd so important, that even in the days of *Charles the Fifth*, that great Monarch is reported to have sometimes visited the Tomb of *Bueckeld* (where he had been above two hundred years Interr'd) in solemn recognition of his Merit, for having, as 'tis said, been the Inventor of Pickling and Curing *Herring*: In a word, so immense is the advantage which this article alone brings the State, that a very favourable Rent, still in arrear to his Majesties *Exchequer*, for permission to Fish (as should be prescribed, and appointed them) amounts to more than half a Million of pounds, and the Custom only at home of what they take, with the Tenth Fish for Waftage, to near five hundred thousand pounds more; but the quantities which they sell abroad, to a sum almost not to be reckon'd: Then let it be computed, the Hands employ'd for Spinning of *Yarn*, Weaving of Nets, and making other necessaries for the Salting, Curing, Packing, and Borelling, Building of Vessels, and fitting them out to Sea: It is certain the Shipping (which is more than all *Europe* can assemble besides) Sea-men, Commerce, Towns, Harbours, Power, Publick-Wealth, and affluence

affluence of all other things, is sprung from this source ; and, that in Barter for Fish (without exportation of Coin) they receive from *Spain, Italy, Germany,* &c. Oil, Wine, Fruit, Corn, Honey, Wax, Allum, Salt, Wool, Flax, Hemp, Pitch, Tarr, Sope-Ashes, Iron, Copper, Steel, Claw-Boards; Timber, Masts, Dollars, Armour, Glass, Mill-Stones, Plate, Tapestry, Munition, and all things that a Country (which has no one Material of these of proper Growth) can need to render it consummately happy. The *Indies* and farthest Regions of the Earth, participate of this Industry; and to our shame be it spoken, we blush not to buy our own Fish of them, and purchase that of Strangers, which God, and Nature has made our own, enriching others to our destruction, by a detestable sloath; whilst to encourage us, we have Timber, Victuals, Havens, Men, and all that at our doors, which these people adventure for in remoter Seas, and at excessive charges; And thus the prize is put into our hands, whilst we have not the hearts to use it; nor do we produce any reasons, why we are thus unconcern'd, that ever I could find, were solid; some Objections indeed are presented, but they appear'd

see Mr. L'E-
strange's late
Discourse of
the Fishery.

1624.

appear'd to me so dilute, and insignificant, that 'tis not possible to compose ones Indignation at the hearing of them, and see a Kingdom growing every day thinner of People, and fuller of Indigence, without some extraordinary emotion: To see with what numerous, and insulting Fleets, our Neighbours have been often prepar'd to dispute our Title to these Advantages, by the benefit and supply of that which we neglect, and condemn as unpracticable: If this be not enough to raise in us some worthy Resentments; Let the Confession of the *Dutch* themselves incite us to it; who (in a Proclamation, publish'd near fifty years since) have stil'd their *Fishing Trade*, the *Golden Mines* of their Provinces, and stimulated an Industrious and emulous people with all the Topicks of Encouragement: Were this alone well consider'd, and briefly pursu'd, there would need no great Magick to reduce our bold Supplanters to a more Neighbourly temper: The Subjects of this Nation have no more to do, than apply themselves to the Fishery, to recover at once their Losses, and as infallibly advance the prosperity of the Kingdom, as 'tis evident

dent it has enabled our late Antagonists to humble *Spain*, and from little of themselves, to grapple with the most puissant Monarch of *Europe*, and bring him to the ground: For my part, I do not see how we can be able to answer this prodigious sloath of ours any longer; and especially, since 'tis evident, it will cost us but a laudable Industry; and (in regard of our situation, and very many Advantages above them) much less trouble and charge: Or suppose a Considerable part of our forrein less-neededfull Expences were diverted to this Work, what were the disadvantages? We talk much of *France* (and perhaps with reason) but are we so safe from our dear friend, upon this Composition, as never to apprehend any future unkindness? For my own part, I wish it with my Soul; But of this I am sure, We may prevent, or encounter open defiance; but whilst we are thus undermin'd, we suffer a continual Hostility; since the Effects of it ruin our Commerce, and by Consequence the Nation: Nor speak I here of our Neighbours the *Hollanders* only; but of those of *Hamborough*, *Lubeck*, *Embsden*, and other Interloopers, who grow exceedingly

ceedingly Opulent, whilst we sit still, and perish, whose advantages for Taking, Curing, Uttering and Employing of hands (were the Expedients mention'd put in practice, or the ruinous numbers of our Men, daily flocking to the *American* Plantations, and from whence so few return, prudently stated, and Acts of Naturalization promoted) are so infinitely Superiour to theirs: But, so our cursed Negligence, will yet have it, not for want of all Royal Encouragement, but a fatality, p'ainly insuperable.

60. We have said little yet of our *American* Fishery, and the loss we make of a vast Treasure on the Coasts of *Virginia*, *Green-land*, *Barmudas*, &c. sacrificing infinite Wealth both at home, and abroad to the *Spaniards*, *French*, those of *Portugal*, and *Biscay*. 'Tis well known that *Green-land*, was first detected by the *English*, about the latter end of *Queen Elizabeth's* reign, and afterwards the Royal Standard erected there, in token of Dominion, by the Name of *King James's New-land*, his Majesty asserting his just Rights, by many Acts of State, as more particularly on the Tenth of *January* 1613, when
he

he signified his pleasure by Sir *Noel Caroon* then in *Holland*, in vindication of his Title both to the *Island Fishery*, and all other emoluments whatsoever *Jure Dominii*, as first discoverer, and to prohibite Strangers interposing, and fishing in his Seas without permission: For this effect, Commissioners were establish'd at *London* to grant Licences, yearly renewable for such as would Fish on the *Englisb Coast*; at *Edenbrough*, on the Northern, and by Proclamation, Interdicting all un-licensed Practises; the Duke of *Lennox* (as Admiral of *Scotland*) being order'd to assert the Right of the *Assize-Herring*, which was paid.

1608.

1609.

1616.

61. The following years, what interruptions happen'd, upon our Neighbours desires of coming to an adjustment for the Indulgences they had found, is universally known, 'till the Year 1635, when to prevent some incroachments, and disorders of those who Fished under his protection, the late King *Charles* of Blessed Memory issued out his Proclamations, and gave Instructions to his Ministers abroad, signifying that no Strangers shou'd presume to Fish in the *Britisb* Seas with-

1617.

1635.

See Mr Secretary Cook's letter April 16. 1635. to his Majesty's Resident at the Hague.

out his Majesties Licence; and that those who desired them, might be Protected, he thought fit to equip, and set forth such a Fleet, as became his Care, and Vigilancy for the good and safety of his People, and the honour of the Nation: This was the Year, and the Occasion of building several considerable Ships, and amongst others, that famous Vessel, the *Royal Sovereign*, which to this day, bears our Triumphant *Edgar* for its badge and Cognizance, and to mind the World of his undoubted Right to the Dominion of the Seas, which he had by this time asserted and secur'd beyond danger of dispute, had not a deluded people (as to their own highest Concern, Glory, and Interest) and the fatality of the Times, disturb'd the project of an Easie Tax as an imaginary invasion of their Liberties, which that blessed Prince, design'd only to protect them; It is fresh in memory what were the Opinions of Attourney *Noy*, many learned Civilians, and near a Jury of grave Judges upon this Conjunction; and the Instances of King *Ethelred's* having levy'd it many hundred years before, shew'd it to be no such innovation; nor could there be a
more

more pressing Occasion than when all our Neighbours around us were (as now) in a state of Hostility: but I list not here to interrupt my Reader upon this Chapter, which has already suffer'd so many fore digladiations and Contests; only as to matter of Fact, and as concern'd the Navigation, and improvement of Commerce, I touch it briefly, and pass to what follow'd, which was the setting out no less than sixty tall Ships, first under the Earl of *Lindsey*, and afterwards *Northumberland*, by the Account of whose accurate Journal, it appears, how readily our Neighbour Fisher-men (though under convoy of privateers superior to ours in number) sued for, and took Licences to the value of *Fifteen hundred Pounds, Fifteen Shillings and two Pence*, as I have perus'd the particulars: I do only mention the Licences, which were also taken, and accepted at Land, and they not a few, distributed by *Sir William Boswell* at the *Hague* it self, upon which his Majestie's Minister then at *Bruxelles*, advis'd the *Infanta*, that the *Dunkerkers* should take care not to molest such of the *Hollanaers* (though at that time in actual hostility with them) as had his Majestie's Permission.

1635.

1636.

and accordingly, the *Cardinal* did grant them Passes, which they took without Scruple; so as we find it was not for nothing, that they came under protection, but receiv'd a real benefit; Nor was this a novel Imposition, but familiar, and Customary, as appears by the many precedents which we have recited; to which we may add, that of the *Scotch Fishery*, under King *James* the first: 1424. 21. *Act*. of the first *Parliament*, having already spoken of what concern'd our own Princes, especially what *Richard* the Second impos'd, *Henry* I.V.VI.VII. Queens *Mary*, &c. with that of *Edward* the First *Pro Hominibus Hollandia* &c, which protection is yet extant, and granted frequently by Treaties, as a priviledg only during the subsistence of such Treaties, and no farther, totally rescinding and abolishing the pretences ground'd by some upon the *Intercursus magnus* made with the Dukes of *Burgundy*: So as to summ up all that has been produc'd to fortifie our domestick Evidences, we have many Acts of Parliament, we have the several Successours of our Princes granting Licences to Strangers; we have the assiduous instances made by King *James*,
by

1495.

by his Ambassadors, and Secretaries of State; We have the Acknowledgments actually, and already paid, and accounted for to the *Exchequer*, and have seen the occasion of the late Interruptions of it, and the invalidity of mens pretences; and if these be not evidences sufficient to subvert the Sophisms of a few mercenary pens, and dismount the Confidence of unreasonable people, it is because there is so little rigour in our resolutions at home, and so little Justice in the World abroad: Nor has this been arrogated by the Monarchs of this Nation, but a Right establish'd upon just reason; namely, that they might be enabl'd to clear the Seas of Rovers, and Pirates; and protect such as follow'd their lawful affairs: And for this effect, the Kings of *England*, did not only take care to defend their own Subjects, but to Convey, and secure all Strangers, sometimes (as we have seen) by Proclamation, sometimes by Fleets, and Men of War, where they Fish'd by Agreement, upon Treaty, or leave obtain'd, yet restraining them to certain limits, retaining the dominion of the Neighbouring Seas, as in the Reign of *Henry the*

Rot. Frs. Hen.
4. 29.

Edw. 4.
Rich. 3.
Henr. 7.

Fourth, where we find an Accord made between him and the *French King*, that the Subjects of either Nation might fish in one part of the Seas, and not in another; the Possession of all Privileges of this nature ever accompanying the Royal Licence, and Strangers having either special Indulgences, or being under protection of special Officers, appointed in former times for the safe Guarding of the Fishery, who were so empower'd by Patent, and had certain dues appointed for that attendance, which they levied upon all Forreiners, with the express Direction (in the reign of *Henry the Seventh*) that the Acknowledgment was to be so levied, notwithstanding any Letter of Safe-Conduct, which Stranger Fishermen might pretend from any King, Prince or Government whatsoever: So as by all the Arguments of Right, Claim, and prescription, the Title is firm; all other pretences of Right or possession interrupted, arrogated and precarious, or else extinguish'd by Infractions of Treaties, never since revived by any subsequent Act:

62. We might here mention the Toll paid the King of *Denmark* at the *Sundt*,
and

and the respect which Strangers shew to his Castle at *Cronnenburg*, according to a Treaty made between them and the *Dutch*; and to the *Swedish* King, whom they acknowledg Sovereign of the *Baltick*, and Northern Tracts to an immense extent, where he receives Tribute, as well as those of *Denmark*, and *Poland* by impositions at *Dantzick* and the *Fil-lan*, where they only enjoy for it a cold and hungry passage, whilst with us, we give them not only Passage, Harbours, and Protection through a dangerous Sea, but an Emolument accompanying it, which enriches our Neighbours with one of the most inestimable Treasures, and Advantagious Commerce under heaven: To this we also might add what has obtain'd the *Suffrages* not only of our own Countrymen of the Long Robe and others, but of almost all the dis-interested Learned persons who have discuss'd this Subject; universally agreeing, that as to a peculiar, and restrictive Right, Fisheries may, and ought to be Appropriated, and that as well in the high-Seas (as the *Lawyers* term them) as in Lakes, and Rivers, and narrower Confinements, and as the *Republick* of *Genoa* does at this day, let to Farm

1649.

their Fishery for *Thunnies* in their neighbouring Seas; and the Contract between Queen *Elizabeth*, and *Denmark* about the like liberty upon the Coast of *Norway*, and the Prohibitions made, and the licences given by that Crown at this present, do abundantly evince; namely that the *Dane* is, and hath of long time, been in possession upon the Coasts we have mention'd, and of as much as we asser't to be due to his Majesty in the *British* Seas

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THEIR
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PROGRESS.

Containing

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Wars and Conflicts at Sea, from the Original of
Navigation to this Day; with special Regard to
the ENGLISH Nation; Their several Voy-
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late Differences with HOLLAND; In which
His Majesties Title to the DOMINION of
the SEA is Asserted, against the Novel, and
later Pretenders.*

By J. EVELYN Esq; S.R.S.

Cicero ad Attic. L. 10. Ep. 7.

Qui MARE tenet, eum necesse est RERUM Potiri.

L O N D O N,

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1624.

appear'd to me so dilute, and insignificant, that 'tis not possible to compose ones Indignation at the hearing of them, and see a Kingdom growing every day thinner of People, and fuller of Indigence, without some extraordinary emotion: To see with what numerous, and insulting Fleets, our Neighbours have been often prepar'd to dispute our Title to these Advantages, by the benefit and supply of that which we neglect, and condemn as unpracticable: If this be not enough to raise in us some worthy Resentments; Let the Confession of the *Dutch* themselves incite us to it; who (in a Proclamation, publish'd near fifty years since) have stil'd their *Fishing Trade*, the *Golden Mines* of their Provinces, and stimulated an Industrious and emulous people with all the Topicks of Encouragement: Were this alone well consider'd, and briefly pursu'd, there would need no great Magick to reduce our bold Supplanters to a more Neighbourly temper: The Subjects of this Nation have no more to do, than apply themselves to the Fishery, to recover at once their Losses, and as infallibly advance the prosperity of the Kingdom, as 'tis evident

dent it has enabled our late Antagonists to humble *Spain*, and from little of themselves, to grapple with the most puissant Monarch of *Europe*, and bring him to the ground: For my part, I do not see how we can be able to answer this prodigious sloath of ours any longer; and especially, since 'tis evident, it will cost us but a laudable Industry; and (in regard of our situation, and very many Advantages above them) much less trouble and charge: Or suppose a Considerable part of our forrein less-neededfull Expences were diverted to this Work, what were the dis-advantages? We talk much of *France* (and perhaps with reason) but are we so safe from our dear friend, upon this Composition, as never to apprehend any future unkindness? For my own part, I wish it with my Soul: But of this I am sure, We may prevent, or encounter open defiance; but whilst we are thus undermin'd, we suffer a continual Hostility; since the Effects of it ruin our Commerce, and by Consequence the Nation: Nor speak I here of our Neighbours the *Hollanders* only; but of those of *Hamborough*, *Lubee*, *Embsen*, and other Interloopers, who grow exceedingly

ceedingly Opulent, whilst we sit still, and perish, whose advantages for Taking, Curing, Uttering and Employing of hands (were the Expedients mention'd put in practice, or the ruinous numbers of our Men, daily flocking to the *American* Plantations, and from whence so few return, prudently stated, and Acts of Naturalization promoted) are so infinitely Superiour to theirs: But, so our cursed Negligence, will yet have it, not for want of all Royal Encouragement, but a fatality, p'ainly insuperable.

60. We have said little yet of our *American* Fishery, and the loss we make of a vast Treasure on the Coasts of *Virginia*, *Green-land*, *Barmudas*, &c. sacrificing infinite Wealth both at home, and abroad to the *Spaniards*, *French*, those of *Portugal*, and *Biscay*. 'Tis well known that *Green-land*, was first detected by the *English*, about the latter end of Queen *Elizabeth's* reign, and afterwards the Royal Standard erected there, in token of Dominion, by the Name of King *James's New-land*, his Majesty asserting his just Rights, by many Acts of State, as more particularly on the Tenth of *January* 1613, when
he

he signified his pleasure by Sir *Noel Caroon* then in *Holland*, in vindication of his Title both to the *Island Fishery*, and all other emoluments whatsoever *Jure Dominii*, as first discoverer, and to prohibite Strangers interposing, and fishing in his Seas without permission: For this effect, Commissioners were establish'd at *London* to grant Licences, yearly renewable for such as would Fish on the *English Coast*; at *Edenbrough*, on the Northern, and by Proclamation, Interdicting all unlicensed Practises; the Duke of *Lennox* (as Admiral of *Scotland*) being order'd to assert the Right of the *Assize-Herring*, which was paid.

1608.

1609.

1616.

61. The following years, what interruptions happen'd, upon our Neighbours desires of coming to an adjustment for the Indulgences they had found, is universally known, 'till the Year 1635, when to prevent some incroachments, and disorders of those who Fished under his protection, the late King *Charles* of Blessed Memory issued out his Proclamations, and gave Instructions to his Ministers abroad, signifying that no Strangers shou'd presume to Fish in the *British* Seas with-

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1635.

See Mr. Secretary Cook's letter April 16. 1635. to his Majesty's Resident at the Hague.

out his Majesties Licence; and that those who desired them, might be Protected, he thought fit to equip, and set forth such a Fleet, as became his Care, and Vigilancy for the good and safety of his People, and the honour of the Nation: This was the Year, and the Occasion of building several considerable Ships, and amongst others, that famous Vessel, the *Royal Sovereign*, which to this day, bears our Triumphant *Edgar* for its badge and Cognizance, and to mind the World of his undoubted Right to the Dominion of the Seas, which he had by this time asserted and secur'd beyond danger of dispute, had not ~~the~~ people (as to their own highest Concern, Glory, and Interest) and the fatality of the Times, disturb'd the project of an Easie Tax as an ~~invasion~~ invasion of their Liberties, which that blessed Prince, design'd only to protect them; It is fresh in memory what were the Opinions of Attourney *Noy*, many learned Civilians, and near a Jury of grave Judges upon this Conjunction; and the Instances of King *Ethelred's* having levy'd it many hundred years before, shew'd it to be no such innovation; nor could there be a
more

more pressing Occasion than when all our Neighbours around us were (as now) in a state of Hostility: but I list not here to interrupt my Reader upon this Chapter, which has already suffer'd so many fore digladiations and Conteſts; only as to matter of Fact, and as concern'd the Navigation, and improvement of Commerce, I touch it briefly, and paſs to what follow'd, which was the ſetting out no leſs than ſixty tall Ships, firſt under the Earl of *Lindſey*, and afterwards *Northumberland*, by the Account of whoſe accurate Journal, it appears, how readily our Neighbour Fiſher-men (though under convoy of Fleets ſuperiour to ours in number) ſued for, and took Licences, to the value of *Fifteen hundred Pounds, Fifteen Shillings and two Pence*, as I have perus'd the particulars: I do only mention the Licences, which were alſo taken, and accepted at Land, and they not a few, diſtributed by Sir *William Boſwell* at the *Hague* it ſelf, upon which his Maſteſtie's Miniſter then at *Bruxelles*, adveriſ'd the *Infanta*, that the *Dunkerks* ſhould take care not to moleſt ſuch of the *Hollanæ*s (though at that time in actual hoſtility with them) as had his Maſteſtie's Permiſſion.

1635.

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and accordingly, the *Cardinal* did grant them Passes, which they took without Scruple; so as we find it was not for nothing, that they came under protection, but receiv'd a real benefit; Nor was this a novel Imposition, but familiar, and Customary, as appears by the many precedents which we have recited; to which we may add, that of the *Scotch Fishery*, under King *James* the first: 1424. 21. *Act*. of the first *Parliament*, having already spoken of what concern'd our own Princes, especially what *Richard* the *Second* impos'd, *Henry* I. V. VI. VII. *Queens Mary*, &c. with that of *Edward* the *First Pro Hominibus Hollandia* &c, which protection is yet extant, and granted frequently by Treaties, as a priviledg only during the subsistence of such Treaties, and no farther, totally rescinding and abolishing the pretences ground'd by some upon the *Intercursus magnus* made with the Dukes of *Burgundy*: So as to sum up all that has been produc'd to fortifie our domestick Evidences, we have many Acts of Parliament, we have the several Successours of our Princes granting Licences to Strangers; we have the assiduous instances made by King *James*,
by

by his Ambassadors, and Secretaries of State; We have the Acknowledgments actually, and already paid, and accounted for to the *Exchequer*, and have seen the occasion of the late Interruptions of it, and the invalidity of mens pretences; and if these be not evidences sufficient to subvert the Sophisms of a few mercenary pens, and dismount the Confidence of unreasonable people, it is because there is so little rigour in our resolutions at home, and so little Justice in the World abroad: Nor has this been arrogated by the Monarchs of this Nation, but a Right establish'd upon just reason; namely, that they might be enabl'd to clear the Seas of Rovers, and Pirates, and protect such as follow'd their lawful affairs: And for this effect, the Kings of *England*, did not on'y take care to defend their own Subjects, but to Convey, and secure all Strangers, sometimes (as we have seen) by Proclamation, sometimes by Fleets, and Men of War, where they Fish'd by Agreement, upon Treaty, or leave obtain'd, yet restraining them to certain Limits, retaining the dominion of the Neighbouring Seas, as in the Reign of *Henry* the

Rot. Fra. Hen.
4. 29.

Edw. 4.
Rich. 3.
Henr. 7.

Fourth, where we find an Accord made between him and the *French King*, that the Subjects of either Nation might fish in one part of the Seas, and not in another; the Possession of all Privileges of this nature ever accompanying the Royal Licence, and Strangers having either special Indulgences, or being under protection of special Officers, appointed in former times for the safe Guarding of the Fishery, who were so impower'd by Patent, and had certain dues appointed for that attendance, which they levied upon all Forreiners, with the express Direction (in the reign of *Henry the Seventh*) that the Acknowledgment was to be so levied, notwithstanding any Letter of Safe-Conduct, which Stranger Fishermen might pretend from any King, Prince or Government whatsoever: So as by all the Arguments of Right, Claim, and prescription, the Title is firm; all other pretences of Right or possession interrupted, arrogated and precarious, or else extinguish'd by Infractions of Treaties, never since revived by any subsequent Act:

62: We might here mention the Toll paid the King of *Denmark* at the *Sundt*,
and

and the respect which Strangers shew to his Castle at *Cronenburg*, according to a Treaty made between them and the *Dutch*; and to the *Swedish* King, whom they acknowledg Sovereign of the *Baltick*, and Northern Tracts to an immense extent, where he receives Tribute, as well as those of *Denmark*, and *Poland* by impositions at *Dantzick* and the *Pillau*, where they only enjoy for it a cold and hungry passage, whilst with us, we give them not only Passage, Harbours, and Protection through a dangerous Sea, but an Emolument accompanying it, which enriches our Neighbours with one of the most inestimable Treasures, and Advantageous Commerce under heaven: To this we also might add what has obtain'd the *Suffrages* not only of our own Countrymen of the Long Robe and others, but of almost all the disinterested Learned persons who have discuss'd this Subject; universally agreeing, that as to a peculiar, and restrictive Right, Fisheries may, and ought to be Appropriated, and that as well in the high-Seas (as the *Lawyers* term them) as in Lakes, and Rivers, and narrower Confinements, and as the *Republ'ck* of *Genoa* does at this day, let to Farm

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their Fishery for *Thunnies* in their neighbouring Seas; and the Contract between Queen *Elizabeth*, and *Denmark* about the like liberty upon the Coast of *Norway*, and the Prohibitions made, and the licences given by that Crown at this present, do abundantly evince; namely that the *Dane* is, and hath of long time, been in possession upon the Coasts we have mention'd, and of as much as we asser't to be due to his Majesty in the *British* Seas

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